

Matthew H. C. Clarke, Esq.

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AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, March 5th, 1835, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That this Board, relying upon the aid of Divine Providence and the liberality of the Friends of this Society, will endeavor to raise ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS for the cause of African Colonization during the present year."

The preceding resolution has been adopted, it is believed, by the Board of Managers, under a deep sense of duty to the cause with which they stand connected. They dare not, in view of the circumstances of the Society, and of the African Colony, attempt, during the present year, to accomplish less than is proposed in this resolution. They would hope that every friend of the great scheme of African Colonization, will feel individually responsible to assist in effecting this object, which will thus be rendered as practicable as it is important.

It is to be regretted that men engaged in objects of great and unquestionable Philanthropy, are so liable to be elevated or depressed by particular events, encouraging or unfortunate, incidental to their work, but which afford to the eye of reason no true tests of its character.— It is not impossible that some of the friends of this Institution, instead of fadding in the embarrassments which for two years past have retarded its operations, new motives for activity and liberality, have been led to pause and inquire whether it was indeed entitled to the support which they had previously and with so much cheerfulness afforded. It is hoped that if such was the effect of these embarrassments on any individuals, their own reflections have taught them clearly to separate the great and beneficial ends proposed by the Society, and which its policy is so well designed to secure, from the occasional, incidental, and temporary misfortunes which may occur in its progress.

The Society is already partially relieved from pecuniary difficulty, by the sale of stock created for the purpose, and may expect from the early disposal of what remains of this stock, to free itself from that

pressure of obligation, which has, for a season, diminished the power and extent of its efforts.

But there are objects of great interest to the Colony and the cause, to which its attention is now invited, and which, without increased resources, it will be impossible to accomplish. Applications for a passage to Liberia in behalf of *nearly eight hundred persons of color*, (many of them slaves now ready to be liberated) have been recently made to the Society. It is the determination of the Board to avail themselves of the best lights of their past experience in the selection of situations for future emigrants, and in the measures to be adopted for the preservation of their health and the advancement of their prosperity. They desire to render Liberia an inviting residence for all who may choose it as a home for themselves and their descendants. They have resolved to construct houses and to clear and put in cultivation plots of ground in the vicinity of the interior settlements, to which, immediately on their arrival, emigrants may remove, supplied with such mechanical tools and implements of agriculture, as may enable them to engage at once, and successfully, in the pursuits to which they have been accustomed.

The *sum of fifty thousand dollars* is at this moment required to enable the Board to fulfil its benevolent intentions towards the present applicants for removal to Liberia.

There are other objects of essential interest to the colony and to the cause for which it was founded, which the Board have long regretted its want of means to accomplish. To explore the interior, ascertain its advantages for health, agriculture, and the useful arts, the character of its population, and their disposition in regard to the admission of emigrants among them; to secure by fair purchase such territory as may be required for emigrants, and to prepare comfortable temporary accommodations for their reception, are objects to which the thoughts of the Board have been long directed, which they regard as indispensable to a very successful prosecution of their scheme, and which can only be effected by a very considerable augmentation of the funds of the Society.

It is also the desire of the Board to give a new impulse to agricultural industry and improvement within the present limits of the colony; to introduce useful animals, and better modes (than those now existing) of cultivation; and to encourage, by various methods, that activity and enterprise among the settlers, by which alone they can overcome obstacles, subdue the wilderness before them, and attain upon their own soil, to independence.

Education in Liberia needs at present to be encouraged and fostered by the Society. All the good to be expected from the plan of African Colonization is dependant upon the intellectual and moral culture of the people of Liberia.

Their respectability and happiness as a community, their beneficial influence upon the African tribes, all the power they may exert to elicit the energies and elevate the hopes of their race, are principally (under God) dependant upon their education. It is true the circumstances in which they are placed are favorable to the development of their faculties, and the excitement of the strongest principles of action. But, without instruction in letters, and the most useful sci-

ences and arts, no people can be well qualified to discharge their social, political, and religious duties. And the more necessary is this instruction to a community situated on the shores of a barbarous country, and in constant intercourse with those degenerated in understanding and moral habits, and whose influence upon their superiors may be to bring them down to the depths of their own degradation.

In considering the claims of the Colonists of Liberia upon this Society for the means of extending their territory, improving their agriculture, and founding a system of education, the benefits of which shall be enjoyed by every child within their settlements, their peculiar condition prior to their emigration deserves to be considered. It is not a people favored from their youth with all means and opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge and wealth who are now planting freedom and the Christian religion among their less favored brethren in Africa. In a spirit which might do honor to the most enlightened of our race, those who are now settled in Liberia, went forth, uneducated, to a great extent, except in the doctrines of Christ, and almost destitute of property, to secure for their *posterity*, in another land, privileges and blessings denied to *themselves* in this.

It is but little more than twelve years since a few rude huts, amid the uncleared forest of Cape Montserado, alone gave evidence to the passing mariner that civilization had obtained a foothold on that shore of piracy and blood. And could any rational man expect that those who in successive years since that time have become citizens of this Colony, with scanty resources, and feeble aid, exposed to the influences of a tropical climate and the duplicity of barbarians, with every thing to do for themselves and their families, should, before this, have risen above all difficulties, and firmly established those institutions which most conduce to social and public prosperity? *Those colonists have not merely done much. They have pushed their efforts to what, considering all the circumstances of the case, must be pronounced, unexampled success.*

The present resources of the Colony are insufficient to accomplish the numerous objects of public necessity, and to maintain an adequate system of education even for its own population, while many of the native tribes in its vicinity desire to place themselves under its laws and receive from it the rudiments of knowledge.

In addition, then, to the amount of funds required to enable the present applicants for a passage to Liberia to become settled in prosperity on its soil, a sum not less, certainly, is demanded, to enable the Society to afford, without embarrassment, that aid to the Colony, which shall render it in all respects a fit asylum for our free colored people, and powerful in its intellectual and moral influence for the suppression of the slave trade, and the regeneration of Africa.

And can the great purposes for which this Society was founded, have been forgotten? And can any one who has duly considered them, believe that a smaller sum than that suggested in the resolution of the Board should be solicited for such purposes, of the American people?

Are the friends of African Colonization convinced that it is a scheme most wisely adapted to elevate the free people of color, to open the way for the voluntary emancipation of the enslaved, to de-

liver Africa from the terrors of superstition and the infamy of vice, to drive from her shores the destroyers of her peace and the murderers of her children, to build up thereon their institutions of justice, liberty, and the true religion? And will they fail to contribute the means for prosecuting with energy so great a work of benevolence?

The Colonial Agent in his last letters, earnestly invokes the attention of the Managers and the friends of freedom in America to the alarming fact that slave vessels are now swarming on the African Coast. "At the Gallenas river," he observes, "Blanco has several vessels at the present time waiting, and others have lately sailed with cargoes of the miserable victims of avarice." At Little Bassa there is a slave vessel ready to depart with a full cargo.

"On this point," he adds, "Abolitionists and the friends of Colonization may unite and leave no stone unturned until the policy of our Government is changed. Dare the American seamen encounter the sickly clime of Cuba and hesitate not even to invade the settled dominions of Spain in pursuit of the lawless violator of his country's flag, and the safety of commerce, and yet shall they not dare to land upon the coast of unclaimed Africa to break up a traffic, carrying more extensive misery than all other piracies ever known?"

"I am sure every American heart would sympathize in the strong desire to secure an active interference on the part of their Government, could they realize but half the truth. Two or three cold-blooded murders have lately occurred at Bassa, some at Cape Mount, and extensive wars are now existing among the tribes, the causes of which can be traced in every case directly to the presence of slavers. The extensive war between the slaves and their former masters at Cape Mount, has finally embroiled the whole Goolah country in a war with Boatwain. As well for humanity's sake as to restore the interior trade, which is almost entirely interrupted, a commission of three has been sent—Messrs. Whitehurst, Williams and McGill, to negotiate a peace, and restore harmony."

It is certain that the Colony *has done much for the suppression of the slave trade*; that under the administration of Mr. Ashmun, *for long periods*, this trade was well nigh if not entirely banished from every part of the coast under the jurisdiction of the Colony; that it has excited in the hearts of many of the chiefs of the country a sense of the wickedness of this traffic, and extended to them and to their people the means and motives of a better commerce. But while every reasonable man must know, that a few scattered and feeble Christian settlements on the African coast may be incapable of effecting the entire overthrow of this giant evil, it will be equally clear to him that in the increase of their population and the growth of their power will be found a cause adequate to its utter extinction wherever this power is exerted.

The Colonial Agent, from whose last letter we have already quoted, states many encouraging facts in regard to the increasing temperance, industry and public spirit of the Colonists.

"The subject of Temperance," he remarks, "has of late, been making silent but sure progress. Twenty men assisting to raise the masts of the schooner, did it voluntarily, without a hint that ardent spirits were wanting. Two years ago, this would have been a miracle. At

Millsburg a small Society exists. At Caldwell there is one established, requiring total abstinence even as an article of traffic; and it is increasing—while its effect has been such, that among a population of twelve hundred, there is found sufficient scarcely for medical purposes. Even at Monrovia the sentiment is so strong, that we anticipate a triumph before long."

In regard to a public farm laid off at Caldwell he observes, "This farm employs such of the poor and destitute as have their health sufficiently for such active labors, while others spin and knit the cotton forwarded to us by the Jupiter. By this means, many who draw rations on account of laziness, being compelled to work, support themselves, while the expenses of all are lessened—industrious habits are inculcated and enforced; and a sample farm secured for making experiments of various plants, and modes of cultivation. The plan to be perfect should have a school connected with it, and greater facilities be offered for labor."

"More farms have been cultivated the past year than at any previous period; and we may expect to see them doubled the next season. Indeed the surveyor, Mr. Revey, with all his diligence, cannot lay off the land as fast as it is wanted. He will be kept in constant employment, and according to the request of the Board, lay off farms as regularly as may be, for future emigrants.—Lines are now actually being cut from Caldwell to Millsburg, and from Monrovia to Caldwell, on which to lay off the lands."

Our readers may recollect, that some time ago, the number of the Colonial Council was increased to six, and that the duty of affording support to nearly all the officers of the Colony was devolved upon the Colonists themselves.—Alluding to this change in the political condition of the Colony, the Agent observes,

"Political agitation has been considerable amongst us—but the elements are subsiding, and when the exciting cause is removed our agitated community will rest. The new system of Government which began in September, has created no small degree of feeling and excitement, followed as it immediately was by a light and extensive tariff. The Council have gone forward, however, with vigor, to fix the salaries, and provide for the payment of officers. They have also voted \$700 for a new court house and jail, and are looking forward to other improvements. These efforts, at this time of almost unparalleled commercial distress, are encouraging evidences of much remaining enterprise and vigor."

Our present number contains much to animate the friends of the Society.

The plan submitted in the resolution of the Board must, if executed, give a powerful impulse to the cause of African Colonization. It will bind to it in confidence thousands who have looked to it with apprehension. It will scatter finally, and forever, the objections and sophisms of those who would extinguish the light, and cast down the hope of Liberia. It will do much to settle a benevolent system of policy, tending to strengthen and perpetuate the Union of these States, and to confer the blessings which are secured by it to our countrymen, upon the millions of Africa.

COLONY AT CAPE PALMAS.

Since we had last an opportunity of noticing particularly the settlement founded at Cape Palmas by the Colonization Society of Maryland, a communication has been made by that Institution to the American Colonization Society, indicating the causes which led to a separate action on the part of Maryland, and giving many interesting particulars in relation to the progress and condition of the new settlement. After referring to the despatch of two vessels to Cape Palmas—the "Sarah and Priscilla," in June last with supplies, and the "Bourne" in December last with supplies and emigrants, the communication proceeds as follows:

"The expedition by the Bourne is accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gould, a clergyman of the Methodist church, who goes out to superintend the settlement of the emigrants, each of whom is furnished with the implements necessary to enable him, at once, to commence clearing and cultivating. Mr. Gould will return, and be active, most probably, in the collection of emigrants throughout the State. The Board have great confidence in him. From the concurring testimony of all who have been to Cape Palmas, the Board feel satisfied, that there is no objection to it on the score of health. Dr. Hall writes that he enjoys excellent health—better, indeed, than he has known for years,—has thrown aside his crutch, and works, eats and sleeps, as well as ever he did in the United States. The country is every thing that could be desired—alternating with wood and fields of rice—remarkably easy of cultivation and clearing, and affording facilities for excellent roads. Besides the ordinary productions in the vicinity of the old Colony, rice is cultivated in great quantities, and cattle, sheep, and goats abound to any extent.* The natives are in great numbers in the neighbourhood, and are exacting and troublesome, at times.—Dr. Hall has maintained peace with them. They have to be dealt with, with great firmness: they are intelligent, and, to a certain degree, industrious; and the leading men among them are fully sensible of the advantage of having the Colony where it is. Their villages are under command from the stockade fort, and the position of our town makes it very easy of defence.

"The Board have found, that great economy can be had, by sending from this country trade goods for the use of the Colony, in place of permitting drafts. The Agent is now well supplied with every requisite, and but two drafts have come to hand, for one hundred dollars each, being for *specie* furnished him out there, for particular branches of traffic, and on which, of course, no profit, like that on goods, was made out of the Society.

"The Board of Managers have become satisfied, already, of the absolute necessity of a coin for the Colony, and propose taking immediate measures to procure one. The intention is to make it below the standard in this country, so as to prevent its exportation. As your Board may design something of the same kind, and as it might be advantageous, perhaps, to have the same coin for both Colonies, the matter is here suggested, that there may, if you desire it, be a consultation, for the purpose of adjusting the standard, and fixing upon the device."

The letter from which the foregoing extract is made, was accompanied by copies, on tissue paper, of two maps received from Dr. Hall. Mr. Latrobe, the Secretary of the Maryland Society, adds:

"I likewise transmit copies, on tissue paper, of two maps received from Dr. Hall. The general one of the coast, corrects an egregious error in all maps and charts, heretofore published, which made Cape Palmas the southernmost point of the coast of Guinea, instead of Tabou Point, which is considerably to the southward of it. Dr. Hall describes the Cavally river as being a mile wide, and running with so swift a current, that for the greater part of the year, its waters are fresh even to its mouth. It is believed to be navigable a distance of from 200 to 250 miles from the ocean.

* All these articles are found plentifully in the vicinity of Montserado.—EDS.

"The Board propose to send at least two expeditions to Cape Palmas, during the coming year: One, on or before the first of May—and the other, on or before the first of October. As these will pass by Monrovia, it will afford the Board great pleasure if they can, at the same time, render any service to your Society."

The offer made at the close of Mr. Latrobe's letter, has been cordially acknowledged by the Managers of the American Colonization Society, and they have in the same spirit reciprocated the wish expressed by the Maryland Society, "to seize every opportunity of establishing and maintaining that kind feeling which ought always to exist between fellow laborers in a great work of philanthropy."

Our readers will doubtless be interested by the following passages, extracted from a Report of Dr. James Hall, Governor of the Colony at Cape Palmas:

"On leaving Grahway, [distant from the Cape about two hours' ride] I entered one of the most beautiful meadows I ever beheld, from one to two miles in breadth, extending from Grahway Point to Half Cavally, as it is termed, a distance of near five miles. It was literally covered with fine fat cattle, sheep, and goats, belonging to the neighboring towns. When within a mile or two of Half Cavally, we were met by not less than a thousand men, women, and children, in whose countenance and gestures nothing but wonder and astonishment were visible. Their fear and joy knew no limits, as to their manner of showing them, and I much feared, in duration, for the roar was absolutely insupportable.

"The town, or rather towns, of Half Cavally are very large, containing over fifteen hundred people, (guessing,) who are supported principally by trading with the Bush people. Their territory is not very extensive, and as yet not deeded to us. The head trade-men of this place are the most intelligent of any I have found on the coast. One, in particular, who has lived twelve years in England, is, as far as I have observed, a gentleman. I may safely say I was never treated with more civility and propriety than I was by this man. His house was built by a native of Cavally, in the European fashion; framed and weatherboarded, but covered with thatch. The nails and hinges were made by the country smiths. The lower story was used as a store, and the upper as sleeping and drawing rooms. I rested myself on a hair matrass, laid upon a high post field bedstead, and was favored the while by mine host, with sundry popular airs upon a fine-toned chamber organ. The room was ornamented with many good English engravings, a large looking-glass, and contained the common useful articles of chairs and tables, etc. Owing to the jealousy existing between these people and the gentry who accompanied me, I deemed it advisable to stop but a short time.

"To an enthusiastic admirer of nature, nothing could be more delightful than a stroll along the borders of these beautiful fields, winding occasionally along almost impervious clusters of young palm trees, whose spreading branches excluded every ray of the scorching sun; then opening suddenly upon an immense rice field of the most delicate pea-green, skirted by the beautiful broad-leaved plantain and banana, literally groaning under the immense masses of their golden fruit. I reached the Cavally river about two miles above the mouth, at a very considerable town, subject to Baphro, king of Grand Cavally.

"I arrived at Grand Cavally, the town of king Baphro, about two o'clock, P. M., and was received with all the attention I could expect. This town is situated at the river mouth, and, I should think, contained 1,000 inhabitants, but I may over-rate them, as the bustle was so great.

"Judging from my speed, and the time I was in returning, I should say that Cavally was eighteen miles distant, certainly not less; and eighteen miles of more beautiful, easily cultivated, and at the same time rich land, I do not believe skirts any sea coast in the world. Previous to my visiting Cavally, I ascended the main branch of our Cape Palmas river. The land on either side of the river is sufficiently elevated, the soil rich, and (what is of great importance in this country) easily cultivated. I have also travelled a bush path running in an E. N. E. direction eight or ten miles, and found the country equally fertile in all directions as on the borders of the river, or as that already described on the road to Cavally. The whole is well wooded and watered; with few or no fens or swamps, so common on the sea coast, the surface generally slightly undulating, and covered in some parts with a second growth of timber, at intervals, however, spreading into most luxuriant and extensive savannahs."

POETRY.

The following hymn, composed by the Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, was sung at the first annual meeting of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania:

PRAYER FOR THE NEW AFRICAN COLONY.

Oh, Thou who built Jerusalem
For Israel's wandering race,
And yet in love wilt gather them
Back to their dwelling place—

Who, captive Joseph like a flock,
Led forth with prowess high,
And gave them water from the rock
And manna from the sky—

Smile on our efforts—who would fain
Redeem each outcast slave,
And waft them to that land again,
Thou to their fathers gave.

“They seek a better country,” where
Their toils and tears shall cease;
Build Thou their city—grant them there
A heritage of peace.

Thy name, O Christ, and thine alone,
Is all their hope and trust;
Be thou their precious “corner stone,”
To raise their walls from dust.

Thy Spirit’s sword, unto them lent
Thy cross, their banner free,
Thy word their only battlement,
And faith their victory.

Their watchmen shall lift up their voice,
Together shall they sing,
And in the guardian care rejoice
Of Israel’s sleepless King—

The little one—men’s scoff and scorn,
A mighty realm shall be,
And generations yet unborn,
Shall give the praise to THEE.

MR. GERRIT SMITH ON COLONIZATION.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 76.)

Having now examined the two reasons, on the ground of which it is alleged, that the Colonization Society must, from its very nature, prove injurious to the people of color in this country, we turn to the supposition, that, it must, from that cause, prove injurious to Africa also.

The ridiculous sophistry of a British philanthropist has been circulated throughout the land to convince us, that the more civilized settlements on the Western coast of Africa, the more extensive will be the slave trade there. I will not insult the understandings of my readers, by arguing down this first objection to the nature of the Colonization Society, in its bearings on Africa. The gentleman, who brings forward this objection to the nature of the Institution, would prefer a never-ending night of barbarism along the whole Western coast of Africa, to the danger there would be of the slave trader getting ship stores in civilized and Christian towns upon it. It is creditable to the discernment of our countrymen, that they were not plied, a long time, with this objection to the Colonization Society.

Mr. Birney also believes, that the Society must, from its nature, prove injurious to Africa; and we will now see, whether all the grounds of his belief are good.—The reader will excuse my frequent reference to Mr. Birney's letter. It is not to be denied, that it has exerted a strong influence, at the North, against the Colonization Society: and I have much reason to believe, that the portion of it, which we are now to bring under consideration, has been very powerful to weaken the attachment to the Society, of that class of its members, who value it mainly, if not entirely, for its probable benefits to Africa. Here let me premise, that the views, which a slaveholding member of the Colonization Society takes of its nature and tendencies, have but little authority with myself. The fact, that he continues to be a slaveholder satisfies me, that he has not imbibed that spirit of kindness and justice towards the man of color, in which the Society was founded; and which ever has been and ever will be the spring—I will not say, of all its legitimate operations—but certainly of the most important and precious of them. Far am I from using this language with the view of censuring the slaveholder, or of intimating, that he, any more than a non-slaveholder, is out of his place, when in the Colonization Society. I would, that all the slaveholders in the land belonged to it: for there are objects to promote in that connexion, aside from the direct and primary one of benefiting the man of color, which are interesting to themselves, in common with others;—objects of the deepest interest, for instance, to the political economist, the statesman and the patriot. But, especially, would I have them all connected with it, to the end, that they might thereby conceive a greatly increased interest in its benevolent character, and be brought more within the reach of its indirect anti-slavery influences. Nor have I a doubt, that slaveholding members of the Society, who have been faithful to the duties of their connexion with it, and attended to its principles, objects, and operations, have found their attachment to slavery much weakened, if not entirely overcome. The position I had taken, when led to disclaim the entertainment of views, which I feared might be imputed to me, was simply, that the slaveholding member of the Society, lacking, as his slaveholding indicates, that spirit of justice and kindness to the man of color, which was the moving cause of the organization of the Society, is liable to form erroneous conceptions of its nature and tendencies.

But, to proceed with Mr. Birney. He was a slaveholder when he united with the Society, and unhappily continued to be such, as I am informed, during the whole period of his distinguished advocacy of it. Although he has withdrawn from the Society, and repented of the sin of slaveholding, yet it is by no means to be supposed, that he has abandoned all the views, which he took of the Society, whilst he belonged to it, and was a slaveholder. Some of these views he manifestly retains: and his present erroneous opinions of the expectations cherished by the great body of the Society, of its action upon Africa, arise from these views. The Colonization Society, to judge from some of his writings, was doubtless largely instrumental in calling up Mr. Birney's attention to the claims of our colored people: but, unlike its power in the case of some slaveholders, it failed to open his eyes to

the whole extent of these claims. That they are now so opened, I rejoice. That they would have been, but for the instrumentality of the Colonization Society, I do not believe: and well may the able Reviewer in the *Journal of Freedom*, of Mr. Birney's letter, "regret that, after he had thus risen to the commanding position of unqualified opposition to slavery, he strangely turns to kick down the ladder, by which he mounted." That Mr. Birney did not sooner see his whole duty to his colored brethren, is because continued slaveholding had clouded his moral vision. As recently as the last year, he was opposing in the public prints (to the great injury of the Colonization cause, as I then wrote to some of its friends) the principles of the Anti-Slavery party. See his letters republished in the *African Repository*. Why did he oppose these principles? One would infer from the tenor of his letter, that Mr. Birney would ascribe this opposition solely to that delusion, which he charges "the doctrines of Colonization with having spread over the country." But, how much more truly and satisfactorily is this opposition accounted for, in another way! It existed in Mr. Birney's heart, because his was the heart of a slaveholder: and, from having such a heart, he was led into the grossest misapprehensions, not only of those principles of the Anti-Slavery party, which he then opposed; but also of those "doctrines of Colonization," which he now stigmatizes. The simple solution of Mr. Birney's mistakes about the nature of the Colonization Society is to be found in the fact, that he viewed the Institution through the medium of a slaveholder's passions and prejudices and interests: and, it is no wonder, therefore, that it was such a thing in his eye, as the passions and prejudices and interests of a slaveholder would have it to be. Had he but given up his slaveholding many years ago, and thus made room for all the legitimate influences of the Society to come to his understanding and heart, he would, I trust, have been able to witness along with many others, whose understandings are not perverted, and whose hearts are not hardened by the sin of slaveholding, that the Society has been a fountain of precious influences. Is it asked why, since he has given up slaveholding, he does not find the Society possessing this character? I should perhaps admit, as a partial reason, why he does not, that this character does not belong to the Society, to the extent, it once did. But the grand reason is, that Mr. Birney persists in taking many of the erroneous views of the Society, which he took of it, when he was a slaveholder: and, not improbably, he combines with these views somewhat of the modern prejudice against it.

With all my esteem, and I can truly add, my strong affection for Mr. Birney, I must still greatly marvel, that the views, which a gentleman took of the doctrines and influences of the Colonization Society, whilst a slaveholding member of it, should be pressed on the members of that Society at the North, who are all opposed to slavery, and who became members of it, because they were opposed to slavery, as the canonical and conclusive interpretation of those doctrines and influences — I must decidedly prefer the judgment, which a Northern man forms of the Colonization Society, to that, which the slaveholder forms of it. In a slaveholding community the Society has little scope for unfolding its nature. There, for the most part, its tendencies are either cramped and perverted, or resisted altogether: but, at the North, it may have "free course." Justice and kindness to the man of color being among its first principles, it would be absurd to look into a community, which oppresses him, for any thing like a full and fair exhibition of its practical character. We may learn something of the views and feelings of the slaveholder by his opinions and treatment of the Society: but to learn what are its free and happiest bearings, we must go elsewhere. We may learn something of the character of a family, by its resistance or perversion of the Bible: but, to learn what the Bible is, and to witness the happy developement of its power, we look into the "meek" family, who submit to its teachings, and whom "He will teach his way." Is it said, that, as the South is the region, where we most wish the Colonization Society to take effect, we should go there to learn its character? How would the Anti-Slavery Society, whose operations look quite as much to the same region, like to take its character from the testimony of the South? Whilst, it is true, we are interested to study the bearings of both these Institutions on the South, no one thinks of going there for the most valuable lessons on their nature and proper character. The presses, which have been so eager to circulate Mr. Birney's views of the Colonization Society, many of which he took of the Institution whilst he was a slaveholder, would not like to have the public receive, as the true character of the Anti-Slavery Society, the "cut throat" character, which slaveholders give to it.

What I have thus said of Mr. Birney, will perhaps serve to show in some measure, how that intelligent and good man, from his disadvantageous circumstances and relations, came to conceive some of his erroneous views of the Colonization Society and of the designs of the great body of its friends, in supporting it. One of these erroneous views is to be found in his supposition, that Colonizationists look to their Society to accomplish all that is necessary for our colored people: whereas the great majority of them, notwithstanding some contrary appearances, to which I have referred in my censures of the Society, look to it, as but one of the means of doing good to this unhappy people. No wonder, however, that Mr. Birney fell into this mistake: for, having the feelings and interests of a slaveholder, he could not think of favoring any of the means, which would *directly* cross those feelings and interests: and he seems to have taken it for granted, that all other Colonizationists had an equal aversion with himself to such means; without considering, that there was nothing in the education and circumstances of the great majority of them to produce this aversion. Mr. Birney's slaveholding prejudices having twisted the Society into a thing precisely to suit themselves, they were wholly on the side of it; and it is not surprising, that they greatly overrated its capabilities. The Colonization Society could do every thing, thought Mr. Birney, in the days of his slaveholding attachment to it. The error he has fallen into in the case we are now to consider, proceeded from the same misapprehension of the power and objects of the Society, and from the unauthorized inference, that the Society is, in the minds of its members generally, as it was in his own mind, the sole and exclusive means of beneficence, whether to her children here, or to Africa herself. This misapprehension combined with this unauthorized inference, accounts for Mr. Birney's undertaking "to prove, as briefly as he (I) can from facts, that the prospect of converting to Christianity and civilizing the heathen of Africa by the direct instrumentality of the Colony is—if not wholly—in a great measure, delusive." I fully agree with him in the delusiveness of this prospect: but I do not agree with him, that the Colonization Society is deluded by it. Indeed, I do not know one member of it, who indulges himself in such dreams of its "wonder-working" power. It is sometimes said, either through ignorance, or for the purpose of disparaging its merits, that the Temperance Society is a failure, because it has not reformed the drunkards: whereas, in truth, it was not established to reform drunkards. Now, it is quite as wrong, to intimate, that the Colonization Society will be a failure, unless it Christianize and civilize Africa; when in fact, neither its Constitution, nor its members contemplate such a work for it. Although, the Colonization Society is now abandoned by Mr. Birney, his present views of its Colony, as an agent in Christianizing and civilizing Africa, are nevertheless quite as elevated, as are the views taken of it, in this respect, by Northern Colonizationists. Mr. Birney says: "In one sense this is not denied;" viz. "that the Colony will be the great means of Christianizing and civilizing Africa."—"That the Colony will continue to grow in numbers and importance, until it may be considered as permanently established; that it will furnish a footing for missionaries and others, who may engage in this work of benevolence; that here, in future times, as in many of our cities now, the religious will assemble to consult and organize associations for diffusing a knowledge of Christianity among the heathen, I shall not, for a moment, controvert." Better than this I myself do not expect!—and, if I live to witness such prosperity of the Colony and such blessed uses of it, as Mr. Birney, with the fullest confidence is anticipating for it, I shall most assuredly think that I have abundant reason to thank God for His having put it into my heart to do the little which I have done to sustain it and advance its prosperity. So much loftier were his views of the Colonization enterprise, than my own, that even now, when he has discarded it, he continues to expect as much from it, in some of the most important relations in which it can be viewed, as I do, who remain warmly attached to it. But how could he find it in his heart, to discard an enterprise, of whose blessed effects he continued to have so perfectly confident expectations? How could he labor so strenuously for the destruction of the Colonization Society, and, of necessary consequence, for the destruction of its Colony, when he saw, in so clear and certain prospect, its delightful bearing on the cause of civilization and the cause of his Saviour? Is it not a fearful responsibility, which he and his associates have assumed in consigning to destruction this Colony of precious promise? But, I pass on to examine his principal and altogether most plausible reason for believing that the Colony will do harm to Africa; for even, after his admission of its future prosperity and important service, he still maintains—most strangely maintains—that it will be detrimental to Africa.

Mr. Birney predicts that the colony will be injurious to the natives of Africa, because Spanish and British colonization was so destructive to the natives of America. He ascribes undoubted piety to Columbus, and to a portion, at least, of the "men who made up the colonies planted by him." I am not called on to give an opinion of their piety; but, among other and worse things which they did, they stole large numbers of the natives and sent them to Europe to be sold as slaves; and history grossly wrongs him if Columbus himself did not send, at one time, five hundred of them to be sold at Seville. In the darkness of that age even a pious man might do this; for, in a far more enlightened one, the unquestionably pious John Newton was guilty of a similar crime. I can easily believe, and I do believe, that Columbus is in Heaven; for, with all my abhorrence of slaveholding, I am not of the number of those who consign all our Southern slaveholders to perdition. Now, unless Mr. Birney means to be understood to say that the colonists we have sent, or may hereafter send, to Africa will be as ignorant and regardless of the true principles of Christianity, and as insensible to the rights and happiness of the natives, as were the Spanish colonists to those of our aborigines; and that the people of the United States will stand ready, as did the people of Spain, to purchase the enslaved natives from the colonists—then he should not have quoted this instance of Spanish colonization to illustrate the probable effects of our colonization on the natives of Africa. But he cannot wish to be so understood. He cannot wish to wrong so cruelly the character of our colonists and that of his own countrymen. I will rather believe that he wrote this part of his letter hastily, and that, were he to re-write it, he would omit an illustration which recognizes no distinction between the spirit of conquest and gain that prompted Spanish colonization, and the spirit of benevolence in which he admits the Colonization Society was founded, and is, of course, carried on by that "large majority" of its friends, to whom he accords "stainless purity of motive in what they have done and are doing."

Now let us see how much Mr. Birney can make out for his position, by his reference to the "pilgrim fathers of New England," and to William Penn's colony. In the first place, how wide is the difference between the condition and character of the aborigines with whom those "pilgrim fathers" and William Penn's colony had to do, and the condition and character of the natives, to be influenced by our settlements on the coast of Africa! These natives are partially civilized, as their occupation and modes of living denote. They dwell in large towns; they cultivate the soil; they pursue many of the arts of civilized life; and, so far as the Mahomedan religion prevails among them, it is accompanied with more or less literature. They are, eminently, a trafficking people, and trade directly and indirectly with various parts of the civilized world. They are, withal, to be numbered by tens of millions. On the other hand, the natives of this portion of America, when the "pilgrim fathers" and Penn's colony landed on its shores, were a comparative handful. They seemed to be but the remnants of nations, which violence, or disease, or both, had wasted away. Their forests were their world; and the game, which they pursued in them for their chief subsistence, was scarcely wilder than were their pursuers. With modes of living but a single remove above the rudeness of simple nature, they had not acquired, for they did not need, any knowledge of the arts. That such a people, whose very element it was to roam through the limitless and unbroken wilderness, might chafe, under the rapid imposition of the restraints of civilized life, and be found almost as untameable as the hunted animals with which they vied in the unmodified freedom and wildness of nature; that the kindest efforts to give them "a local habitation," and to mould them to the pursuits and habits of cultivated man, might, if not dictated by an experience of their peculiar character, be such as to tax their physical and moral constitutions with changes too sudden, if not too great, to be borne by either—would by no means be surprising. That the hypothetical errors of treatment here alluded to were actually fallen into by our excellent ancestors, I am far from affirming; though it is probable that they were to some extent. I have alluded to them merely to introduce and give force to the remark, that whatever failure may have attended the means which were employed to benefit these aborigines, it cannot be fairly presumed that there would be the like failure, or even any failure, of the like means, if employed in behalf of a people so essentially different from them as are the natives of Western Africa. But a great advantage which we have over these ancestors is, that, in meliorating the condition of the heathen, we are not confined to the use of their means in such a work, but we have the rich and cumulative experience of two centuries, by which to vary and improve those means.

But, after all, are we to admit the correctness of the universal opinion, that the natives of New England and the Middle States were wasted, by their contact with a civilized people? It is a speculation of my own, and, therefore, may not be of much worth, that their rapid diminution was the result of causes, which were wholly independent of this contact, and had long been in operation. A proximate cause of it was their utter want of civilization; and for this want we need not here attempt to account. The perfect wildness of nature, though favorable to the multiplication of brutes, is not so to that of the human family: and the settlements of Europeans on our coast may have contributed quite as much to arrest, as to accelerate the waste of life, which the aborigines had been suffering for ages, and suffering too in the ratio of their degradation to mere nature. The soundness of this speculation, that the sparseness of the Northern Indians, at the time of the European landing amongst them, was owing to their want of civilization, is much favored by the fact, that other parts of our continent, (as Peru and Mexico,) where a considerable degree of civilization was found, were then teeming with human life.

I regret the sarcasm on the piety of our New England ancestors in Mr. Birney's declaration, that "the scorching spirit of colonial christianity has consumed them" (the aborigines.) Closer examination of that "colonial christianity" will give him better opinions of it. At least will he think better of it, when he shall meet in Heaven with the thousands of red men, brought there through the instrumentality of the Moravians of Nazareth and Bethlehem, and of the Eliots and Mayhews and Brainerds of New England, who devoted their self-denying lives to the propagation of this "colonial christianity." Mr. Birney answers his question: "where are the aborigines of New England?" with the declaration that: "the scorching spirit of colonial christianity has consumed them." I can give him a far more satisfactory account of some of the *missing* in the language of the December No. of the Missionary Herald, just come to hand. "It surely, however, cannot be a cause for despondency, that Indians converted by the instrumentality of missionaries, who died a hundred years ago, are not this day among the living. We trust, that they now constitute a part of the general assembly and church of the first-born in Heaven." Were I asked for a striking instance of the benefits of this "colonial christianity," I would refer the inquirer to the fact, that it preserved peace in Pennsylvania between the Indians and colonists for more than seventy years from the foundation of the colony: that, in all that time, but one violent death occurred between the parties; and, that in this case, to use the language of my friend Robert Vaux's Anniversary Discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, "they (the Indians) were so fully satisfied of the sincerity of the government of Pennsylvania to do them justice and prevent or punish all such abuses in future, that, remarkable as it may seem, the Indians interceded for the murderer (a white man) and the difficulty was settled." Such facts as I have adverted to should have no small influence upon our minds, when we make up an estimate of the bearing of British colonization, on our Indians.

But I will not deny, that whatever other causes there were to hasten the destruction of the tribes of the North, there were many in our colonies; and, especially, after their degeneration for a half or a whole century. The spirit of conquest and of unrighteous gain invaded the colonies; and, worse than all, strong drink came and wrought its maddening work in them, and thence was poured in broad streams of death over the native population. But these chief causes of destruction, which I have instanced, and which are the same, that have long borne down with mighty power on devoted Africa, will, I would fain hope, soon cease to afflict her. That her people have not been almost annihilated by them, goes to prove that wide difference of condition and character between them and our aborigines, which I have attempted to make appear. Wise and good men are combining their energies to banish ardent spirits from the world; and God's blessing rests upon their work beyond all parallel. The Church of Christ is also beginning to believe, that its garments have been long enough polluted with war: and that war is not disappearing from christendom, as fast as intemperance is, only because there are not as many hearts lifted up to God for its expulsion. He will rid the world of both these curses, when his people shall unitedly call on him to do so. But, am I told, that it is visionary to hope, that colonization in Africa will be unaccompanied by those causes of destruction to the natives, which have generally attended it elsewhere? I reply, that it is no more visionary to hope for this, than it is for the Anti-Slavery Society to hope, that slavery will soon cease. Its hope is grounded, as mine is,

under God, on the spirit of the age; on that respect for the laws of God and the rights of man, which is beginning to characterize the age; and on that conquest of truth, never so rapid as now, over the evil passions and practices of our race. Let the Anti-Slavery Society be assured that abhorrence of war and of slavery and of intemperance and of the other strong holds of Satan in our fallen world, will, under the present broad and bright illuminations, which God has graciously cast over the field of human duty, advance in the church with no very unequal pace; and that he, who calculates on the fall of one and the survival of the others;—on the deliverance of Africa from the curse of slavery and the slave trade; and, yet, on her continued affliction with war and intemperance,—has no warrant for doing so, either in Providence or revelation.

In my further remarks on the bearing of the Colonization Society on Africa, I shall occasionally quit the défensive, to which I have hitherto confined myself on this topic, to show that this bearing is not only, not evil, but positively and immensely good.

Why, it is asked, must we have a Colonization Society to christianize and civilize Africa? Why, in her case, employ means to this end, so different from the means employed by the church to christianize and civilize other portions of the heathen world? Will the inquirer allow his misapprehensions on this point to be corrected? He mistakingly looks on the Colonization Society as employed by its friends, in exclusion of the ordinary means for accomplishing such an object: whereas, it is employed but as auxiliary to them. But why, continues the inquirer, are auxiliary means needed in the case of Africa, any more than in another case? Even, if they were not, yet if Providence has cast them in our way, it would be wrong to reject them: and, it seems very apparent to us, that our country has advantages as peculiarly numerous and great, as are her obligations, to do good to Africa. But, we will quote from the Rev. Dr. Philip's writings to show, that means additional to those which the church employs in other heathen lands, are, if not indispensable, yet very important in the work of christianizing and civilizing Africa. It will be readily admitted, that Dr. Philip's long residence in Africa, and his eminent wisdom and piety, entitle his opinions, respecting the peculiarities of her moral condition and moral wants, to far more respect, than can be reasonably claimed for those of any other man. Dr. Philip says: "So far as our plans for the future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement (Liberia) as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian governments than that which this new settlement presents. Properly conducted, your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of sending the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent."

Dr. Philip says again: "Missionaries will have two difficulties to encounter in this country—the demoralized state of the people, and the zeal of the Mahomedans among them. In an incidental manner our travellers have furnished us with facts, the importance of which they did not seem to be aware of, which clearly show, that the apostles of the Koran are numerous and indefatigable on the lands of the Niger. There is a something in the doctrines of the Koran exceedingly favorable to the dominion of its votaries, in such a country as Africa. They raise the savage to the condition of the barbarian; but, as there is nothing in them to raise them above a semi-barbarous state of society, and there is something in them to prevent a higher rise in the scale of civilization, a Christian community in the centre of Africa, keeping up a constant communication with America, would soon gain the ascendancy in that quarter. Could you plant another colony like that of Liberia on the banks of the Niger, it might be the means of rolling back the tide of Mahomedanism, which appears to have set in with so strong a current from the North, and of establishing a Christian state in the centre of Africa. If this is impracticable, a mission may be undertaken on ordinary principles; but the conducting of it should not be left to ordinary men; and those, who are to engage in it, should go forth in numbers, and with resources at their command, from which a great impression might soon be expected. A solitary individual may do much among a reading people, and who hold many principles in common with himself, to which he can appeal in his addresses to their understandings and to their hearts. But, in such a country as Africa, we must concentrate our strength, and keep firm possession of

every inch we have gained, and make use of the resources we may be able to raise upon it for the further extension of our conquests. It was long a prevalent notion in England, that we might plant missionaries in Africa, as a man may in the fertile lands of the United States plant acorns, and leave them to the rain and to the climate to spread themselves into forests. But our experience has shown the folly of that notion, and taught us, that, if we would succeed in our object, a more expensive and laborious system of cultivating is necessary. Like the trees of the field, the greatest difficulty is in rearing the first plantation; and when that has risen to a sufficient height, to afford shelter, every new seed or young sapling should be planted, within the range of its protection.

"In making choice of a situation for a missionary station, a country, that would repay the cultivator of the soil, and, having, if possible, a water communication with the rest of the world, is to be preferred to an inland desert. The inhabitants of the rock and the dwellers in the wilderness are not to be forgotten, as the one are to shout for joy at the glad tidings of the gospel, and the other to bow down before the Saviour of men. But, the most crowded parts of Africa are first entitled to our attention, and our object in following the other should be to induce them to exchange their wandering habits and their barren soil, to locate themselves on spots of the earth where they can cultivate the soil, and enjoy in Christian communities the social blessings of Christianity and civilization. The desert is unfavorable to the fruits of Christianity: and, after repeated trials, we have found that they never can be brought to perfection, or cultivated to any extent, unless they are literally planted by the rivers of water, where they may rise into families and tribes. The ark of the Lord was carried into the wilderness: but it would not have remained long with Israel, if the people had been allowed to choose the wilderness, as their final abode.

"The civilization of the people, among whom we labor in Africa, is not our highest object; but that object never can be secured and rendered permanent among them, without their civilization. Civilization is to the Christian religion what the body is to the soul: and the body must be prepared and cared for, if the spirit is to be retained upon earth. The blessings of civilization are a few of the blessings, which the Christian religion scatters in her progress to immortality: but they are to be cherished for her own sake, as well as for ours, as they are necessary to perpetuate her reign and extend her conquests.

"Because multitudes in England and America have lost their religion, to which they are indebted for their civilization, many pious people make light of civilization as connected with the labors of missionaries; but it should never be lost sight of, that if men may retain their civilization, after they have lost their religion, that there can be no religion in such a country as this, without civilization: and that it can have no permanent abode among us, if that civilization does not shoot up into regular and good government."

Dr. Philip says again: "The next question which occurs to me, and which I shall answer, as briefly as possible, is, as to the manner, in which we may expect the gospel to proceed in its advances over this vast and benighted continent. Reasoning from the circumstances of this colony, from what is to be learned of the progress of Christianity from history, and from what has come under my own observation, my decided opinion is, that the progress of Christianity in Africa must be slow; that its light must radiate from certain well chosen positions; and, that the districts in the neighborhood of the first position chosen, should be enlightened; and, that every new missionary establishment must keep what has been gained, while it is extending its conquests in the regions beyond it. The growth of Christianity in such a country should be like that of an empire, which is enriched and strengthened by every inch of new territory, which extends the line of its frontier. What is gained is by this means secured; and out of the materials accumulated in this manner, the conquests still to be made, become easy and rapid. Every new village, brought within the pale of the church, increases her resources, and adds to the efficiency of her native agency. By this means, in going forth to fresh conquests she becomes to her enemies 'bright as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.'

"Every aid should be afforded by your missionary societies to your new and interesting settlement. By an efficient ministry and due attention to the schools of Liberia, the foundation of a future empire may be laid in that settlement, that may in a short time do much to evangelize the surrounding country to a great extent.—When the government of that country has gained the confidence of the nations

beyond it, multitudes of those nations will put themselves under its protection, and among such people you will find employment for a large body of missionaries.

"My views on this subject cannot be more happily expressed than they have been by your own countryman, the late Rev. Samuel J. Mills, in the following extract:—"If by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually, and some might, in a suitable time, go out from that settlement, and form others, and prove the occasion of great good."

"The memoirs of that interesting man did not come into my hands, till a few days ago, and till I had written my own sentiments upon this subject. Mentioning to a friend that I was very anxious to see something respecting the settlement of Liberia, the memoir of Mills was put into my hands, and in perusing it I was very much struck with the largeness and comprehension of Mr. Mills' views.

"There is so exact a correspondence between his views as to the best mode of evangelizing and civilizing Africa, and my own, that the one seemed to me, as if it were a copy of the other. From the first notice I had of your settlement of Liberia, I contemplated it under the same aspect as those, under which Mr. Mills appeared to have viewed it, when he was sacrificing his health and life for its establishment. And I cannot help feeling surprised that Mr. Mills with his opportunities should have arrived so soon at the just conclusions, to which he had come on this subject.

"The whole of Mr. Mills' memoirs, (which I have perused at one sitting,) convinces me, that, from your intercourse with the native tribes of America, or some other cause, you have much more enlarged views on this subject, than are, generally speaking, to be found in England. But however far you may have got before my countrymen on this point, you will not be displeased to find, that the fruit of fourteen years' experience, which I have had in Africa, goes to confirm the views of your own enlightened and lamented countryman.

"The details I have already given of the history of the Griquas, while they illustrated the elevating power of Christian principles and Christian education, confirm what I have said, as to the manner in which you may expect the gospel to be propagated by means of your new and interesting colony on the African continent."

Dr. Philip closes the communication, from which I have quoted in the following language: "To heal the wounds of Africa—to remove the evils generated on this unhappy continent by the nefarious slave trade—to raise minds long embruted by the avarice and cruel selfishness of civilized nations—to cover Africa with Christian churches and Christian schools—and to conduct the process of civilization from the first germination of the seed in the minds of individuals, till it shall cover with its shade, and enrich with its fruits, the moral wastes of this desolated quarter of the globe—is an undertaking worthy of the zeal and benevolence of your churches. And as much of your future success will, under the blessing of God, depend on the character of the agency you may employ, and the wisdom of the measures you may adopt, you cannot do me a greater pleasure than to make any demands upon my experience you may choose to call for. Question me freely on every point, on which you wish for additional illustration or information. Let me have all the objections which the intelligent friends of missions have to urge against my views. State fully all the difficulties you may suppose one in Africa, alone, or in company with other missionaries, would have to encounter in carrying my views into practice; and I pledge myself, if the Lord spare me and continue my health, to give you my sentiments upon all those subjects, and every other connected with missions, on which you may wish to have my opinions."

But we have other very high authority, besides Dr. Philip's opinions, in favor of the position, that American Colonization on the coast of Africa furnishes facilities and helps to the means ordinarily used by the church for prosecuting the work of Christianizing and civilizing a heathen country. Never before the American Colonization Society began its operations, were missions to Africa undertaken by the American churches. Peculiar, as were her claims on these churches, they had never, up to that time sent her one herald of the cross. Nor is there much probability that they would have sent one, up to the present time, had the Society not been formed. Two other facts in this connexion, claim the reader's attention. The first is, that, since the Society began its settlements in Africa, the various Christian denominations of our country have sent thither a considerable number of

missionaries: and the other is, *that they have all chosen their stations within the limits of Liberia!* Whether they acted wisely, in availing themselves of our settlements to promote their objects, I do not say. Let those who think that the missionaries should have shunned Liberia, controvert the point with the churches, which sent them out, and approve of the use, which they made of the settlements of the Colonization Society, to promote the great work of gospelizing Africa. The Swiss missionaries to Africa gave similar testimony in favor of those settlements. Within the last year, the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions sent out Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, to explore a portion of Western Africa, and to fix on a site for a missionary station. They also, after balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the indirect connexion, which would necessarily exist, in that case, between the station and the colony of the Maryland Colonization Society, made the location within the limits of Liberia, and on ground, just then purchased by that Society. They have since returned. The Board have sanctioned the location, and, within a few weeks, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson have been commissioned to proceed to Cape Palmas, where their station will be in the very settlement of the Maryland Colonization Society:—a settlement, by the way, which has been unusually and wonderfully marked with the approbation of Heaven.

The enemies of American Colonization in Africa will not say that the missionaries preferred Liberia, on account of its peculiar healthiness; for, themselves being judges, it is not only the sickliest part of the coast, but the sickliest part of the whole earth.

Now, I would not deny, that much danger to the best interests of Africa is to be apprehended from the British and American colonies on her coast. These colonies will be fountains of evil, as well as of good, to her. But, I ask, have we not far more to hope than to fear from them?—and I ask, if the city of New York were translated to Africa, would not the church of Christ rejoice in so mighty an instrument for renovating her? Polluting and deadly as would be many of the influences, from such a source, the Christian would expect to see them neutralized by those other influences, which would travel out from that city to wake up Africa from her moral death, and to clothe her with living and spiritual beauty. Nor would it be that the city would act, of itself only, on that benighted continent. All the nations which sympathized with poor down-trodden Africa, would pour their benevolence into her bosom through this city.

Many persons seem to think that the only effectual and suitable way of evangelizing a heathen nation, is to shut out from it the influence of the world. If, for argument's sake, it were admitted, that this would be the best way, were it a practicable one, the admission would avail nothing, because such a way is not practicable. It may be practicable, to be sure, in the case of the handful of the Esquimaux, and some of the tribes in the frozen regions of the earth; but in the case of those heathen nations, which lie in the track of the world's intercourse, a little reflection shows its impracticableness. The church has no power thus to insulate a people: no power to divert or dry up the streams of commercial and international intercourse, whose influences, on the country she is endeavoring to evangelize, are so justly dreaded by her. Her proper business, in respect to those streams, is to labor to sanctify them, and to make even the whole commerce and intercommunication of the nations of the earth minister to the whole earth's salvation. Our missionaries on the Sandwich Islands, when contending against the pernicious influences of corrupt crews in their ports, are doubtless often, very often, tempted to wish, that the frail people over whom their solicitude watches day and night, were entirely and forever estranged from the rest of the world. But they are sensible that in proportion to the success of their labors, and the spread of Christianity and civilization among their people, that people will both attract and desire the intercourse and trade of foreigners. They lay their account, therefore, with hoping that intercourse and trade, necessarily and ever, for good or for ill, among the elements employed to form the character of the Sandwich Islanders.

If the views which I have taken be not erroneous, then the anxiety to shut out colonial influences from the work of Christianizing and civilizing Africa, is uncalled for. If not precisely these, yet similar influences will not fail to find their way into the work: and it is idle to hope, that the work will be exclusively missionary. The other nations of the earth will carry on a secular intercourse with Africa, and exert an influence upon her: and if they have not their colonies on her coast, through which to do so, this intercourse and influence will probably be none the less hurtful for being direct and immediate.

The new-born eagerness to rob the Colonization Society of all its merit, hesitates not to deny, that colonies on the Western coast of Africa will be of any avail to suppress the slave trade. Nay, in that very respect in which all once admitted that such colonies would do good, it is now alleged, as we have seen, that they will do harm. The only way, says the Anti-Slavery Society, to break up the slave trade, is to abolish slavery and break up the market for slaves. It is admitted, that this is the best way—indeed, that it is the only way to break it up entirely; and yet the admission by myself and every other abolitionist in the land does not secure its adoption. But shall nothing—*may* nothing be done to obstruct and limit the slave trade, until the spirit of abolition shall have pervaded the whole earth, and broken up every where the market for slaves? The wisest and most benevolent nations, including our own, think differently: and, with the view of checking the slave trade, they have enacted laws which declare the trade to be piracy. It is true that these laws, and the colonies referred to, do not, when considered in the light of their bearing on the slave trader only, strike at the moving causes of the traffic, as does the effort to break up the market for slaves. Their design is but to make the commission of the sin as difficult as they can. But to say that they are useless, because they are not so radical in their operation, as is this effort, is to lay down the doctrine, that locks, and guards, and prisons, and gibbets are to be abandoned; and that the only duty of the community, in relation to crimes, is to persuade, *if they can*, those who are guilty of them, to “go and sin no more.” We spoke of the laws and colonies, in the light of their bearing on the slave trade only. But the happy agency of the colonies, in respect to the slave trade, is not all to be seen in this light. Whilst, on the one hand, the slave trader trembles before their physical power; on the other, the whole body of their influence on the natives is suited to wean them from a traffic which, in their intercourse with the colonists, they are fast learning, is every way disadvantageous and ruinous to themselves. Before leaving this topic, I will quote two paragraphs from an address of the Rev. Dr. Beecher, one of the most distinguished advocates of the Colonization Society, which serve to show, in the first place, the great importance of abolishing the slave trade on the African coast, and that colonies there are suitable means for abolishing it; and secondly, that these colonies, instead of being hindrances to missionary operations there, are indispensable to the safety of these operations.

“But the influence of the slave trade over the petty kings on the coast and in the interior is such, as renders impossible the establishment of mere missionary stations. Fast as they could be planted, they would be instigated to cut them off, with moral certainty.”

“In these circumstances, naval protection would not avail. The great expense, and the inconstant elements, render the exclusion of the slave pirate from access impossible. There must be land defences, and these must be colonial establishments, stretched along the coast, conciliating the natives and substituting a healthful commerce for traffic in the souls and bodies of men.”

But the opponents of the Colonization Society, though they were constrained to admit, that it will probably do good, immense good, to Africa, would still deny, that it will exert any beneficial influences on the condition and character of the colored people in this country. That its operations, at home, are suited to exert, and have already exerted, such influences, I have, in former parts of this essay, attempted to prove: and I will now add some remarks to show the probability, that its operations in Africa will specially benefit the colored population of our own country. I do not suppose, that any considerable proportion of our colored people—at least, of this generation—will emigrate to Africa. That those, who do, will, in general, greatly improve their circumstances and elevate their character, I have *no* doubt. But there is no motive, impelling me to exertions for the Colonization Society, which is more powerful and delightful than that, which springs from the prospect of the happy and resistless reflex influences of its colonies on this country, and especially on our slaveholders.

The leading objection to the liberation of their slaves, put forth by our slaveholders, is, that when emancipated, they would be incapable of providing for themselves, and would, consequently, be worse situated than they now are. This objection is sincerely held by many of them: and, where it is but a mere pretext for continuing their fellow men in bondage, it is immensely important to the cause of abolition, that its fallacy should be shown. That this objection should prevail amongst those slaveholders, who look on the negro, as holding but a midway place between man and the brute; and amongst those also, who live habitually unmindful

of the fact, that he and they have a common rank in the scale of existence, is not surprising:—and, that some of our slaveholders deliberately deny, that the negro is “created in the image of God;” and that most of them seldom think of the dignity and responsibility of his being, and have, continually, need to be admonished of the truth, that he is a man—are propositions, too obviously true, to be gainsayed. The excellent Mills, who had so useful and so honorable a share in laying the foundations of the Colonization Society, remarked, after returning from one of his tours through the Southern States: “More or less of the slaveholders soberly maintain, that the people of color have no souls.”

Now, the intelligent friend of abolition perceives, that a great point would be gained in his cause, by the removal of these errors, which so many slaveholders entertain, or affect to entertain respecting the nature of the negro, and his capabilities for self-improvement. The American Colonization Society, in its operations on the coast of Africa, is giving a solution of the problem, whether the negro is a man, and capable of exercising himself as a man, that will serve to put to flight these errors, which are so cruelly and wickedly disparaging to him. If the inhabitants of Liberia can, in their infancy, and under all their peculiar disadvantages, sustain their political and social structures, and wear, to so respectable an extent, the aspect of a civilized and Christian community; then the experiment, undertaken by the Society, of building up free and happy States on the coast of Africa, loses much of its doubtfulness. Hitherto the rum curse has been upon the Colony; and, no wonder—for the Colony was founded long before that same curse began to depart from our own country. As yet, Russwurm is the only liberally educated colored man in the Colony; and he, unhappily, is not pious. I presume, that there are not a dozen persons in it of attainments in learning, equal to what is understood amongst us by a “respectable common education.” Now, when a few more years shall have passed away, and whole Counties and States in our own country shall have set the example of an entire cleansing from the pollutions of rum selling and rum drinking, and Liberia shall have followed this attractive example; and when also, there shall be a number of educated men and women in the Colony, to exert a refining and elevating power on the mass of mind around them; then will it send back influences of an incalculable, great and happy bearing on our whole country; but, especially, on our slaveholders and our people of color.

That this evidence of capability on the part of our colored people, to improve their condition and elevate their character, would produce, at least, somewhat of the good effect on our own country, which I have claimed for it: and that such an evidence is greatly needed to remove the prevalent misconceptions, respecting the nature and powers of this people—is plain, beyond all dispute. But it will be said, “admitting that the evidence will have these important bearings, yet why go all the way to Africa to create it? Why not create a similar evidence here?” The answer is at hand: “because the wicked prejudices of the whites will not suffer it to be created here:—because these prejudices will not suffer a fair experiment to be made, within the limits of this nation, on the capacities of the colored people.”—The Rev. Dr. Spring has been much censured for saying, that the colored man cannot rise in New England. He doubtless intended no more in this remark, than that these prejudices will not let him rise there.

But the influences, which will come from Africa, fraught with immeasurable blessings to our colored people, will be, not solely the direct and immediate influences of the colonies. They will be, still more, the influences evolved by that progressive regeneration of Africa, which our own colonies and those of other nations on her coasts will be mainly instrumental in accomplishing. To use language somewhat similar to that which I used on a former occasion—Africa, whom guilty Christian nations have for centuries combined to keep down to the lowest point of degradation, is already beginning to rise, and enter upon the redemption of her character. She is beginning to clothe herself with the garments of civilization, and to awaken throughout the earth a respect for her name and her people. This respect will ere long be felt even by the slaveholder himself; and he will shrink from the sinful and odious relation, which he bears to such a people. The hapless slave, whom he once regarded as but a few removes above the brute, will then present himself before his master’s mind, under associations so altered and elevating, that the master will recognize in him a fellow man and a brother;—and the rod of the oppressor will fall to the ground, and “the oppressed go free.” For a little time longer, the white man may be able to continue his oppression of the black:—but, when Africa “shall have taken her place among the nations of the earth,” and the influ-

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ences of her regeneration shall pervade all these nations, and the colored man, wherever his lot may be cast, shall feel these influences coming over his own benumbed, depressed spirit, awakening and elevating it to the dignity of his noble being:—who will then be found with enough of hardiness and imperviousness to moral influences to continue to hold her children in bondage? When the time shall come for our having a measure of that reciprocal intercourse and science, which we now have with Europe; when African ships, manned and owned by Africans, shall be in our ports; when African governments shall be officially represented in our cities and at the seat of our government; and when intelligent Africans shall visit our country, and receive at our hands, those attentions of which every intelligent foreigner is sure; then will there be moral influences at work amongst us, that will speedily relieve both our slave and our freeman of color of their present degrading and mortifying relations to society. The principle, that “they cannot rise above their source,” is scarcely less applicable to our colored people, than it is to waters. It is very difficult for them to rise in the world’s esteem above the moral level of their “father land”—for they are always associated with that land.—But let Africa become civilized, and there will be a moral impossibility in the way of continuing to hold her children amongst us in bondage, such as we should have to encounter in an attempt to reduce to slavery the sons of England or France on our shores. To my countrymen, who are in chains, let me therefore say, “Look to Africa for many of your brightest hopes. The world’s interest in her, will awaken its sympathy for you: her ratio of elevation will be yours: and, ere the bleeding Mother becomes erect, her outcast children will rise up from the dust and gore of slavery, to unite with her in the song of deliverance.”

But the colored people of this country have a contingent interest in our colonial settlements in Africa, which I have long valued, and cannot yet cease to value, although I have never seen it adverted to. Will this people, even when slavery shall have ceased in our land, ever attain to that equality of privileges with the whites, which will make them contented to dwell in the same land, and under the same government with us? We can hardly expect that such justice will be accorded to them. Taking human nature as it is, and as history presents it, we may rather expect, that our unhappy brethren who are in bonds, will pass from slavery, only to become the objects of greatly increased jealousy and of new persecutions. The arrogance of caste will, I apprehend, be, as yet, but partially subdued; and, among many other ways, it will not fail to manifest itself in the exclusion of the colored people from civil office. Such an exclusion will not be quietly submitted to by them. Efforts to gain their merited participation in the Government may be protracted by that oppressed people through several generations; but too probably they will be efforts against majorities increasing in numbers and in obstinacy.—Perhaps they will come at last to despair of seeing their wrongs redressed. They may then be disposed and be able to organize an independent government in the Southern portion of our country; and as Mr. Jefferson long ago predicted, the whites may fly thence to the North. But against this alternative, all the most cherished feelings of our hearts, the feelings of patriotism, of kindred, and of friendship rise up in the strongest remonstrance. To what other course will this wronged and persecuted people betake themselves? They may cast their eyes abroad for a home; a home which will not be cursed to them, as this land is, and may continue to be for ages, by the wicked intolerance and oppressions of caste.—How natural to suppose, that, to a portion of them at least, the land of their origin, and especially the colonies in it, planted and added to from year to year, by emigrants from their own neighborhoods and families, should present more attractions than any other portion of the earth! Even a small probability that these colonies will afford such an asylum to a portion of our persecuted countrymen of some future age, is enough to endear them to us, and to justify all our expenditures upon them.

But I must draw this already too lengthened essay to a close. And now, if my sketch of the origin, operations, and prospects of the American Colonization Society be not very wide of the truth, I ask, is this an Institution deserving of the uncompromising and furious hostility which is arrayed against it? and of being pursued by a spirit, which, for ferocity and indiscriminateness of havoc, rivals even *Vandalism* itself? Is there nothing in the history of this Institution, which was prayed into existence, as one of its founders is often said to have prayed other of our benevolent Institutions into existence; which has been sustained in its arduous labors by the contributions and prayers of the Church; and has been smiled on by Heaven, as was never any other Colonization enterprise; is there nothing, I ask, in

such portions of its history, to entitle it to exemption from rash and ruthless hands; and to commend it in all its past and present and future errors, to gentle and patient and prayerful correction? One would have thought, that when such an Institution had erred, Christians would assemble around it, to wash out its faults with their tears, rather than abandon themselves to unrestrained and savage exultation over its anticipated "funeral." (3) "But no," says the Anti-Slavery Society; "the American Colonization Society, under whatever modifications, and by whomsoever supported, must be abandoned; its colony, though it should become a paradise, must be broken up; and even the very principle of Colonization must be abjured forever!" The general tone of its publications, respecting the Colonization Society, fully bears me out in this assertion. Instance the language of the Anti Slavery Reporter,—a periodical, which, as well as the Emancipator, is a confessed organ of the Anti-Slavery Society—and is, indeed, published at the charges of the Society. In the 4th No. of the Reporter, the Society says:—We regard the Colonization scheme, under whatever modifications, and by whomsoever advocated, as, but the outbreaking of that spirit of slavery which rivets the chains of two millions of our brethren. But if they (the Colonization Society) could make Liberia a paradise, the plan would be liable to two fatal objections. We shall never cease to oppose this plan, till it is explicitly given up, and the flag of Colonization struck from the mast." Mr. Birney's letter accords with this language, in recommending that "this community be utterly divorced from colonization in all its parts and measures." The two objections aforesaid have been referred to in this essay.—But the members of the Anti-Slavery Society will perhaps tell me, that there is one reason for justifying the war of extermination its Society is waging against the Colonization Society, which I have not referred to. This reason is, that the Colonization Society has become the Institution—the very property and organ of the wicked and vile, who have recently gathered around it in large numbers. I admit that this description of persons have, of late, manifested, in a way characteristic of themselves, their partiality for the Institution; and that, on this account, it is in bad odour with many good men, who have not taken the pains to search into the principal cause of the recent and undesirable clustering about it. Such is this principal cause, however, that, so far from justifying good men in divorcing the Colonization Society from their hearts, and seeking its destruction, and so far from furnishing any proper ground to censure it, for this accession of unsought and unwelcome friends; it is a cause which authorizes me to charge, as I now most solemnly do, the chief blame of this greatest calamity that the Colonization Society ever suffered, on the Anti-Slavery Society itself. Did the wicked and the vile manifest any partiality for the Colonization Society until twelve or fifteen months ago? No—they previously either neglected, or hated and reviled it, as they did and still do, our other benevolent Institutions. But, about that period, some good men in our country entered into an association for the promotion of the great and blessed object of abolishing slavery. That the wicked and the vile should hate this Association, founded so deeply in the principles and benevolence of the gospel, is as natural, as it is creditable to the Association; and had not this Association been guilty of the sin (for good Societies, no more than good men, are infallible) of making violent and bitter war on the Colonization Society, the wicked and the vile would, in addition to their hatred of the Anti-Slavery Society, have continued to neglect, to hate and revile the Colonization Society also. But, unhappily, the Anti-Slavery Society, as we have seen, laid down, among its first principles, the necessity of destroying the Colonization Society: and no more faithful was the Roman orator to inculcate "in season and out of season" his celebrated motto "Carthage must be destroyed," than the Anti-Slavery Society has been to rally its forces for the destruction of the Colonization Society. This the evil and base were not slow to see; and now, not because of any affinities between themselves and the Colonization Society (for had there been such, they would surely have been developed during the previous sixteen years of its existence;) but, merely to spite the Anti-Slavery Society, which, from the nature of the objects it was pursuing, from its deserved character for benevolence and piety; and still more from its assumption of peculiarly high and holy principles of action, they hated with a malignity, such as no other of our benevolent Societies provoked in them. I said that there were no affinities between these evil and base persons and the Colonization Society. I am, however, constrained to admit, that some members of the Colonization Society allowed themselves to return the war of the Anti-Slavery Society with revilings and persecutions, and thus disgraced themselves and the Society with which they

were connected, by a community of feeling and action with the wicked and worthless.

It will aid us in ascertaining the motives which have prompted so many unclean and belligerent spirits to flock of late about the Colonization standard, if we keep in mind the fact, that, though they call themselves Colonizationists, and talk loudly in praise of the Society, yet they do not join it, or give it money. Manifestly then, it is not from motives of friendship that they come to us. Nor would they come to us at all, did they not flatter themselves that under a show of regard for the patriotic and benevolent objects of the Colonization Society, they might indulge more effectively their malignant hatred of the Anti-Slavery Society. And it is politic in them not to muster by themselves, and under an independent flag, lest their opposition to the Anti-Slavery Society might be construed into an approval of slavery, and might therefore be discredited.

Such is the just explanation of the nature and of some of the causes of the newborn attachment of thousands of bad men in our country for the Colonization Society. And now, I ask, is it fair, is it Christian, in the Anti-Slavery Society, after having by means of which it should hasten to repent, driven these men to the Colonization Society—to make their presence there a justifying cause of its destruction? Rather, let it look on this evil consequence of its hatred to the Colonization Society, and be led to contemplate how fearful a responsibility it assumed, in declaring a war of extermination against that Society. I am confident, that I have not reasoned this point falsely: and, if the Anti-Slavery Society will only follow up the war it has begun on the American Bible Society, and make that war as bitter and relentless as the war against the Colonization Society, it will have the pleasure of seeing the wicked, who have hitherto despised and hated that Institution, flocking to its anniversaries, and shouting its praises. (4)

And now, having exposed the fallacy of another ground, on which the destruction of the Colonization Society is called for;—I repeat my inquiry, whether the Society shall be destroyed? A very large majority of the purest men and wisest Christians of our country believe, with all their hearts, that the best interests of our colored people are intimately connected with the existence and prosperity of this Society. Must they be told, that they shall not seek the welfare of this people, by means of this Society—nor, indeed, by any other means, than those which the intolerance of the Anti-Slavery Society prescribes? A very large majority of such persons do also believe, fully and religiously, that through this channel much can be done for Christianizing and civilizing Africa. Must they become compelled to endure the heart-breaking sight of seeing this channel closed forever? One of the most delightful, benevolent and ennobling hopes, that ever animated the bosom of the American patriot, is, that the Western coast of Africa will yet be fringed with American colonies; and that, under the influence of their happy example, the Governments of all that benighted continent will come to be modeled after the precious free institutions of his own beloved country. Must this hope, that Africa may be thus *Americanized*, be extinguished? Must even the dear colonies, which are now there, be broken up and scattered? Must the “abomination of desolation stand in those holy places?”—and idolatry again pollute the whole length and breadth of Liberia?—and the slave factories, which were once there, be re-established? Must the lights, which American patriotism and piety have for fifteen years been kindling up, on that dark coast—lights, on which the philanthropy of the world has fixed its gaze; and, to which the eyes of thousands and tens of thousands of native Africans are already turned with joyful hope;—must these lights be put out forever? Must humanity fail of reaping a bright harvest from the precious seed, which has been sown there, at so great an expense of treasure and life? To all these inquiries the Anti-Slavery Society makes an affirmative answer; and manifests, in doing so, the sad effects of party spirit on the good men, who give tone to the Society. For what more striking proof could there be of these sad effects, than is to be found in this callous indifference to Africa? This indifference is, indeed, eminently characteristic of that Society. Painful, as it is, that it should be so, it is, nevertheless, too easily accounted for to be surprising. It proceeds from the hostility of that Society to the Colonization Society. So much does it hate the laborer, that I had almost charged it, with hating the field in which he labors. The benevolent men who lead the Anti-Slavery Society, once had sympathy for Africa. Where is it now? How little evidence of its continued existence, in the proceedings and organs of that Society! How little, in the conversation and prayers of its members! In colonization among the wilds of Texas and Canada.

(*notwithstanding their abjurement of the very principle of colonization!*) they manifest a lively interest; but with colonization, designed to strew the richest blessings among the millions of Africa, and, in which they should be unspeakably more interested, they have nothing to do—save to oppose it with all their might—and this too, for no better reason, than because they are burning with hatred towards the agents, who carry it on.

Again, we entreat these unrelenting enemies of the Colonization Society to revise their judgment against it; peradventure they may be moved, in view of the unreasonableness, vindictiveness, and severity of that judgment, to reverse it.—But if they shall still be inexorable to our calls on their justice and their Christian sympathy and forgiveness; if they shall still persist in demanding the unconditional destruction of the Society; and, if nothing short of this can appease their implacable malevolence towards it, then let them know that its friends are as determined as its foes. Our determination is fixed—fixed, as the love of God and the love of man in our hearts—that the Colonization Society, under the blessing of Him, who never even “for a small moment has forsaken” it, shall continue to live;—and to live too, until the wrongs of the children of Africa amongst us are redressed; until the slave trade has ceased, and the dark coasts which it has polluted and desolated for centuries, are overspread with the beautiful and holy fruits of civilization and the Christian religion. And, as we fear the judgments of heaven on those who commit great sin, so we dare not desert the Society, and leave Satan to rejoice over the ruin of all this “work of faith and labor of love.” We know that the Society has its faults; and our prayer is, that God will forgive them—though there be some of his children who will not forgive them. We know too, the greater faults of the Anti-Slavery Society; but instead of these faults giving us the right or inspiring us with the desire to crush it, they impose on us the obvious duty of praying for their forgiveness; and we pledge ourselves to this Society, never to pattern after its unchristian exultation over our errors and embarrassments:—“for yet our prayer shall be also in their calamities.” Let the Anti-Slavery Society hasten to correct its own errors; and let the effort which has been so well begun to correct those of the Colonization Society, be persevered in, until, under the blessing of God, the whole amount of influence of both Societies shall be for good, and for nothing but good: and to use the language, so happily quoted by Dr. Beecher for the like purpose, let the two Societies, which are truly “brethren,” “see that,” in future, they “fall not out by the way.”

NOTES.

3. See the speech of the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, before the Anti-Slavery Society last spring. I do not refer to it, to derogate from the merits of this heavenly-minded man; but merely to show, how frensied even a good man becomes by imprudently suffering himself to be inoculated with the hatred of a good thing.

4. In considering the kind of friendship which the enemies of all righteousness, who have recently clustered about the Colonization Society, bear towards it, I have thought of the answer of a Dutchman on the Mohawk river, who was asked at the poll of an election, for whom he wished to vote. “Give me a vote for dem dat General Myers hates,” was his reply. All that the Dutchman aimed at, in his vote, was to thwart General Myers. All that these enemies of righteousness aim at, in their clamorous suffrages for the Colonization Society, is to thwart that Society, which has the unenviable distinction of hating it.

PRESIDENT YOUNG ON SLAVERY.

A far longer interval than was agreeable to us has passed since the appearance of a letter from the Rev. JOHN C. YOUNG, President of the Transylvania College at Lexington, on the subject of Slavery, till we could find room for even a portion of that excellent performance. As an answer, at once temperate and overwhelming, to the dogmas of immediate abolitionism, it is at least equal to any publication to which

the controversy has given rise. The specific purpose of the writer was to make some remarks on the "declaration and resolutions of the Synod of Kentucky, in reference to slavery." The most important principles of that paper are, he thinks,

1. The system of slavery (or involuntary and hereditary bondage) is sinful.
2. It is not sinful in an individual to retain his legal authority over those of his servants whom he sincerely and conscientiously believes to be unfit for freedom, while he is, by the application of proper and vigorous means, preparing them for the right and beneficial enjoyment of liberty.
3. It is sinful in any individual to delay the commencement of these benevolent and conscientious labors, or to prosecute them deceitfully when they are commenced—thus retarding unnecessarily the day of complete emancipation."

After some remarks on transactions connected with the preparation of the document referred to, the reverend and learned gentleman says :

"Any person, who has ever attempted to draft a paper on so delicate and difficult a subject, knows how small is the probability of so framing the expressions as to guard against all erroneous inferences. Perhaps there might be advantageously substituted for the disputed phraseology, some modification of language more happy in expressing the idea that the master might, for a limited time, and simply with a view to the good of the bondman, retain his legal power without a violation of that holy law, which requires us to do unto another that which we would that he should do unto us. There is no repugnance between this position and the position that the system of slavery is wrong. If I am a slaveholder, and have used so vigorous and conscientious efforts to qualify my slaves for freedom. I have sinned; and if I now, earnestly and in good faith, set about the work of preparation, executing deeds of emancipation for my slaves, to take effect at a certain fixed period hereafter, by which period I may reasonably hope to be able to give them a suitable preparation—if I do all this, as duty requires—I do not expect my present conduct to cancel my past sin, but I do conceive that I am now making all the amends in my power. So far from sinning *now*, my present course is virtuous and praiseworthy. There are three classes on whom the guilt of slavery rests: those who introduced the system among us; those who have assisted to perpetuate it, either by actual efforts or by mere negligence; and those who are now refusing to cooperate in its extermination. Thus, in asserting the sinfulness of slavery and the innocence of gradual emancipation, we do not commit the absurdity of asserting that there is sin, and yet that no one is guilty; we only assign the guilt to the real criminals. We shield the innocent from false imputation; we strike the serpent, while we spare the sufferer who is struggling in his coils."

PRESIDENT YOUNG asserts that "*a system of gradual emancipation is not a system of perpetual slavery.*" After noticing the fact that, wherever the former is established the latter is destroyed, and advertising to the hereditary and perpetual condition of African slavery, as the peculiarity distinguishing it from other and approved cases of involuntary servitude, he thus proceeds :

"The difference, then, between the gradual emancipator and the abolitionist is not a difference as to the criminal nature of slavery—they agree in considering it an enormous evil—but it is a difference as to the best mode of getting rid of this evil. The gradualist terminates slavery by first changing the condition of his slaves into a kind of apprenticeship; he organizes them into a class of probationers for freedom. He still retains for a time his authority over them, but exercises it for their good as well as his own; and thus prepares them, as speedily as possible, for the enjoyment of self-government. The abolitionist would put an end to slavery by at once surrendering up to the slaves all his power over them; thus giving them the immediate and full enjoyment of absolute freedom. It seems strange that a reasonable and unprejudiced mind could hesitate for a moment in deciding against the latter plan. An uneducated slave is little better than an infant with the stature of

a man. To vest such a being with the power of absolute and uncontrolled self-government, is fraught not only with mischief to others around him, but with almost certain destruction to himself and misery to his offspring. What chance is there for the education and moral instruction of these tens of thousands of ignorant and depraved beings, when they are left to provide the elements of knowledge and virtue for themselves? Will they make efforts and sacrifices to gain, either for themselves or their children, objects for which they have no taste, which their former habits have unfitted them to relish, and the value of which they are unable to appreciate? The paths to distinction and honorable employment are open to all classes of the whites in our country; and yet, with all the stimuluses which possible honors and distinction present, what numbers of our laboring classes neglect the education and improvement of their children. What hope, then, could we have of the future education of the colored race, if they were at once, in their present state of ignorance, to be emancipated? The fathers would have no personal knowledge of the blessings of education; would they then make the requisite exertions to secure it for their children? The strongest motive to excite them to such exertion would not exist; for they would see that knowledge could not place their children, hereafter, on the bench of the judge, or in the chair of the legislator. The evils which the race would be doomed to suffer, from their almost hopeless and irreclaimable ignorance, and consequent degradation and vice, are truly appalling. But even these are, perhaps, less terrific than those they would inflict upon the country. If we are ever to be destroyed as a nation, and our liberties wrested from us, the catastrophe will be brought about by the ignorance and vice of the populace. Is it then wise, is it patriotic, is it humane, to constitute by our own act, an immense, self-perpetuating, and increasing mass, which shall contain in its own bosom the very elements of our destruction? And what do we propose to gain, that we should be tempted to cut the sluices and let in this deluge of evils upon us? Why, we will thus be able to give their freedom to those of the present generation of slaves who are not, and cannot be, prepared for its enjoyment. This is absolutely all that can be gained by abolition more than will be secured by gradual emancipation; for the gradual emancipator is desirous to give their freedom to all, even of the present generation, who can be fitted for its safe enjoyment. So that the only object which abolitionism proposes as a compensation for all the miseries it will introduce, is to give liberty to those to whom it must probably prove a curse."

The learned President's remarks on the effect of a sudden translation from an old and known position are founded in just views of human nature, and most happily illustrated. What have the abolitionists to answer to the following logic?

"Now, can any humane and sober mind anticipate, without misgivings and apprehension, the change which would take place by the *sudden* elevation of an immense, uneducated, and degraded mass of human beings from their low condition to a full equality with the rest of the citizens? It may however be replied, that abolitionism does not demand for the black man an investiture of equal civil rights. But the principle on which it relies for proving that he ought *immediately* to be emancipated, without regard to consequences, will prove equally well, that he ought to be invested *immediately* with all the rights of a citizen. Is the right which every man has to personal liberty any clearer than his right to participate, personally or representatively, in the enactment of the laws by which he is to be governed? The advocate for abstract rights and for the *immediate* enjoyment of all rights is, then, bound on his own principles to contend that the slave should be *immediately* put in possession of equal civil privileges."

"Justice demands the immediate liberation of the slave from all authority of the master. This is the principle of abolitionism. But on what axiom does this principle rest? It is not self-evident—where, then, is its proof? The general truth that 'all men are by nature free and equal,' is relied upon to establish it. But this, like almost all other axioms of the same kind, admits of various exceptions when you come to apply it. Freedom from authority is never claimed for lunatics or minors, for felons or prisoners of war, on the general ground that all are free and equal. The rule which limits the practical application of the axiom is this—*any class of human beings are restrained in the enjoyment of natural rights, wherever their own interest or the interest of society clearly demands their restraint.* Such restraint is certainly an evil, in itself considered, and can never be honestly continued longer than is absolutely necessary. If any man, then, believes that the future welfare of the colored

race, as well as the interest of the community, demands some preparation on the part of slaves for emancipation, he must believe that *it is right to continue his authority over them for a time while this preparation is making.*

Again: It is urged that the maxim 'do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you,' requires that all authority of the master should be at once relinquished. But, were I such as the vast majority of slaves are, I would that I were, for a time, retained under control, while vigorous means were brought to operate upon me to fit me for the responsibility of self-government. I do not say that if I were a slave, such would be my desire, as *I would then possess all his ignorance and folly.* The rule does not require that I should do for another what, if I were *stripped of my present capacity and judgment, I would deem to be best for me—it simply requires me to imagine myself in his condition;* and what I then think would be best for myself in such a condition, that to do unto him.

Any other exposition of this rule will strip it of all title to its well known appellation of the 'golden rule,' and will make every man's desires the measure of his neighbor's duty. Were I a child, I presume that I would be disinclined to the rod, even when it was needed. Now I would that, were I a child, it should not be spared; and thus, when complying with the advice of the wise man, I do unto my children as I would that they should do unto me.

'Common honesty,' it may again be said, 'requires that every one should receive a fair equivalent for his services; and this is never complied with while slavery continues.' True, but it may be complied with, and is complied with by the conscientious gradualist. He may and will give, to those over whom he holds legal power, a fair equivalent for their labor. In calculating the amount of compensation, however, all the items of expenditure for his slave family, for education, food, clothing, physicians' bills, &c. &c. are to be estimated. If the expenditure for an apprentice, from the age of 12 to 21, is worth his labor during that period, how long ought one to labor to defray his charges during the useless years of childhood, or how much of the labor of the grown members of a slave family should go towards supporting the children? But all this is the calculation of the economist, and to him we leave it."

Several plausible commonplaces of the Abolitionists are then assailed, and we think with complete success. In noticing the objection that "*slaveholding is a sin, and men should repent of all sin immediately—preparation for emancipation is only preparation for a future repentance, and in the meantime the sin is tolerated,*" President YOUNG exposes the abuse of terms practised in connecting the word "slaveholding" with gradual emancipation; and adds some striking illustrations of this topic, of which we copy the last:

"Permit me to use, in refutation of the duty of an immediate relinquishment of all authority over the servant, an illustration which I have frequently advanced in colloquial argument, and to which I have never heard what I deem a satisfactory answer. Suppose the Czar of Russia were to become convinced of the sinfulness of exercising despotic authority over his fellow-men, would it be his duty at once to surrender his present power, and afford his people an opportunity of establishing a republic? Every man sees the folly of his pursuing such a course. By holding his present station he could institute, and secure the operation of means, which would work upon his people to fit them for the noble condition of freemen. By abandoning it, before time had been given to raise them from their ignorance and slavish feelings and habits, he would probably plunge them into misrule, anarchy, and bloodshed, and be the instrument of at length imposing upon them a tyranny more galling than that under which they now groan. But if he would not sin in retaining his authority, *which is absolute over millions, neither would the private master sin in retaining his less despotic power, which extends only over a few individuals.* Or is it less contrary to the laws of nature and the principles of revelation, to hold millions in absolute bondage than to hold tens?"

"The doctrine of abolition," says the President, "will never secure the liberty of the blacks, because

1. Its advocates excite so much prejudice against themselves by the ultraism of their views, that even the force, which really exists in their arguments, will not be allowed to them. The reasonings of those who are considered enthusiasts are heard

to great disadvantage. The result is the same whether enthusiasm and fanaticism be justly or unjustly imputed to them.

2. There are few of the slaveholders who will give even a hearing to such as profess a doctrine which they believe to be so wild. Now these are the men who must be operated upon, if we ever get rid of slavery. It is, then, all important that they should be so addressed as to keep them still accessible to the truth.

3. The principles of abolitionism can be refuted, or to say the least, plausibly answered by practical difficulties.

4. For inducing the slaveholders to manumit, they rely solely on the operation of their consciences, and thus they neglect all appeals to their interest. I have never yet read of an instance of a general voluntary emancipation by the masters, except when they had been made to see that *interest* as well as duty urged to the performance of the act. The abolitionists, then, throw away the strong and tried lever, by which this work has hitherto been in all cases advanced, and apply their whole force to a comparatively weak and untried one. They are like Francis I. at the battle of Pavia. His splendid park of artillery would have gained him the field had he given it time to play; but he must signalize his valor by drawing his royal sword, and charging an enemy on whom, with such weapons, he could make no impression—defeat and the loss of liberty were the forfeit of his folly. Duty and interest can be shown to coincide on the plan of gradual emancipation—they cannot on that of abolition. It is vain to say that the temperance reform shows what conscience can effect. If every signer of the temperance pledge had been called upon to record his name, at a sacrifice of from \$500 to \$10,000, the number on our lists would have been, *not hundreds of thousands—scarcely hundreds*.

5. Men naturally dread sudden revolutions in society. It is felt to be a matter of great importance to effect even a desirable change gradually: for thus only can they escape a dangerous convulsion. We could not, then, if we wished, induce men to hazard the shock, where they see another means by which they can effect their end without incurring any danger.

6. The destruction of slavery has always been effected by the process of gradual emancipation, except where it has resulted from the overturning of society. Certainly the most sanguine abolitionist can not expect that it will ever be effected here in any other than one of these two ways.

We hope and trust that, very soon, the example and efforts of patriots and christians will so enlighten the public mind, both as to the moral obligation and political and economical gain of universal emancipation, as to ripen the community for that decisive legislative action which will exterminate the whole system, and thus cut off the entail of calamities which it threatens to fix upon us. May all the friends of humanity unite their efforts, vigorously, perseveringly, and kindly, to achieve this great and blessed victory."

EMIGRANTS FROM NEW ORLEANS.

Since the extract from MR. FINLEY's letter p. 81, was in type, we have seen the following additional information concerning the emigrants under his care. A correspondent of the New Orleans Observer gives an interesting account of a meeting which was held in the Baptist church of that city, on the 17th of January, preparatory to the departure of the emigrants under MR. FINLEY's care.

"The notice had been limited; yet, by seven o'clock, the spacious room was nearly filled, and soon after, was so full that many had to stand in the aisles. The occasion, the scene, and all the associations connected with it, were full of thrilling interests. The countenance of every individual, and the general aspect of the whole audience, manifested a generous sympathy with the emigrants in those feelings of tender, yet inspiring and elevating emotions always connected with the achievement of a great enterprise like this, which, beginning on one continent, is to bring to its consummation on the shores of another, an entire change in the condition of themselves and their posterity. Each seemed to place himself in their situation, and from this point of transition to look back to the past and forward to the future."

"These colored people" said Mr. Finley, "sitting in the front ships have come down from Mississippi, to go to the colony of Liberia. All who go here are required to be of good character, and to pledge themselves not to drink, buy or sell ardent spirits. One man, who has a sister among these emigrants, plead with us, with tears, to let him go: but on account of his habits of intoxication, he was rejected. To-night, after a sermon by one of their number, these persons are to be formed into a *Temperance Society*, and publicly give a pledge to abstain from the use of ardent spirits. Twenty-six of them, from Adams county, are selected by their master from a company of 130, and set free, to go to Liberia, for their good behaviour. They had been honest and faithful servants. As to the good character of the remainder, from Claiborne county, the Rev. Mr. Butler, who is present, will give to this assembly his views."

Mr. Butler cheerfully bore testimony to their good character.

"Especially," said he, "am I gratified in speaking of the deservedly high reputation of the Rev. Gloster Simpson, who is about to preach to us. As I belonged to the Presbyterian church, and Mr. Simpson to the Methodist, no undue impartiality will be imputed to me in what I say of him. He has the entire confidence of all who know him. He was one of the two, deputed two years ago by the free people of color of Mississippi, to go to Liberia to examine the country for them. Sabbath before last he preached at Bethel, Claiborne county, a farewell sermon, on which occasion a large congregation of masters and servants were melted to tears. A deep interest is felt in their welfare, by their former masters and friends. I have come to this city with them to aid in their embarkation for Liberia, and to see that they are provided with every thing necessary for their comfort on their voyage. They will be followed by the prayers of many Christian friends."

Mr. Butler was followed by Mr. Simpson. After the preliminary exercises of singing and prayer, he read a part of the 5th chapter of Matthew, and took for his text the 16th verse, "Let your light so shine, &c." His discourse would not have been discreditable to many preachers, who have had the advantage of an early and mature education. Adverting to his visit to the colony, he expressed a noble sentiment in an eloquent manner. "One day," said he, "as a friend was pointing out to me the graves of the missionaries, *white men* who had gone to that land of darkness, to diffuse the light of salvation, and had fallen in quick succession, one after another, martyrs to the holy cause, I could not but exclaim—Good Lord, and shall there not come from our own ranks men to take their places and preach to our benighted brethren, the gospel of Christ! For one I am willing and determined to go."

Rev. Mr. Scott, of the Methodist church, made some appropriate remarks, and closed the religious exercises with prayer and the benediction.

Mr. Finley then came forward and remarked, that the Colonization Society were unalterably determined to send to the colony none but such as are willing to pledge themselves to total abstinence from ardent spirits, and whose characters are such, as to warrant the expectation of a faithful observance of their engagement. As a ground of confidence in these emigrants, he was authorized to give the testimony of Mr. Raily, in favor of the twenty-six from Adams county, Mississippi, who were emancipated by his brother-in-law, the late James Green. This gentleman and Mrs. Woods, a sister of Mr. Green, the executors of his will, had accompanied them to this city to superintend their embarkation. Mr. Raily was detained from the meeting by sickness. In regard to the others, Mr. Butler was again appealed to, who responded in terms of commendation perfectly satisfactory.

The pledge was then read by Mr. Finley, and is as follows:

"We, whose names are signed to this paper, being about to emigrate to the colony of Liberia, and believing that the use of ardent spirits, either as a drink or as an article of merchandise, except for medicinal purposes, is wrong, do pledge ourselves to one another, and to the Colonization Society, forever to abstain from the use of it as a drink, or as an article of trade, with the above named exception."

The emigrants were then called on to rise up and so signify their cordial adoption of the pledge. They all rose, and thus were formed into a *Temperance Society*, on the principle of total abstinence. This transaction closed the meeting. The impression upon the minds of the assembly was of the most favorable kind; and as a respectable and intelligent citizen remarked, as we were coming out, "in all this even the most timid or most malicious cannot find aught for alarm or apprehension."

The following additional particulars concerning the emigrants under Mr. FINLEY's care are taken from an article published in the New Orleans *Observer*, before their departure :

" This will be the third expedition that has sailed from this port, and is in many respects the most interesting and promising that has ever left the United States for the colony. It will consist of about 75 emigrants from Mississippi; and through the unexampled liberality of the citizens of that State, the whole of the money necessary to defray the expenses of their passage and comfortable settlement in Liberia, has been secured by their voluntary aid, and without the solicitation of an agent. A single planter, living in Natchez, contributed \$600, and another living in the vicinity of that city, \$400, towards this object.

The emigrants are all acquainted with agriculture, and some are mechanics. Their moral characters are good, and they will be able to take with them about \$15,000 worth of property. Twenty-six of them were emancipated by the will of the late Mr. James Green of Adams county, and will be furnished by his executors with an outfit of \$1,000 and money to pay their passage, and five thousand more to promote their comfortable settlement in the colony. They were selected by their late master from 130 slaves and emancipated for their faithful and meritorious services. Ten of them were in the same manner and for the same reasons emancipated by the will of the late Mrs. Bullock of Claiborne county, and will be furnished by Mrs. Moore, her executrix, with eight hundred dollars. The Rev. Gloster Simpson and Archy Moore, free men of color of Claiborne county, who visited the colony some time since as exploring agents, on behalf of the free colored people of Mississippi, will also be of the number. It is two years since their return from the colony. They were prevented from going back to Liberia the first year after their return to the United States, by the bondage of their families, and the next year by the want of an opportunity.—Gloster Simpson owned a farm of 150 acres and is worth about two thousand dollars. David Moore, a brother of Archy, will also go in this expedition. He owned a farm of 280 acres, has paid seven thousand five hundred dollars for his family, together with one female slave whom he intends to emancipate and take with him, and in addition is worth five thousand dollars."

From the New-Orleans Observer.

FAREWELL MEETING OF THE EMIGRANTS.

NEW-ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 24, 1835.

Mr. Editors—Last week I gave you some account of the meeting of the emigrants from Mississippi for Liberia, on the occasion of their being formed into a Temperance Society.

Last evening I was present at another meeting in the Methodist chapel. It consisted almost exclusively of colored people—the emigrants, free blacks, and slaves. When I reached the chapel they were singing. The house was full to overflowing, and some were standing outside the door. Rev. Mr. Scott, a preacher of the Methodist conference, and acting as a missionary among the colored population of this city, took the direction of the meeting.

After the singing closed he called on Mr. Harper, a colored man and pious member of the church, to lead in prayer; which he did with great propriety and fervency, in a very affecting and earnest manner supplicating the blessing and protection of God on the emigrants.

Mr. Finley spoke. "I shall be short. I would say nothing to you at this time, my colored friends, were it not that you might be better able to understand what may be said by Mr. Simpson and Mr. Moore. For four years I have been an Agent for the Colonization Society—have travelled twenty thousand miles, and have been in twenty-one of the United States. Every great and good enterprise must encounter opposition in this world. Our divine master suffered persecution while on earth; and as he said himself, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord." In his cause we are to expect opposition. At the North and at the South I have met opposition and persecution in this work. Why have I persevered? Because it was my duty, because I desire to promote the good

of the colored people, and because God has blessed my efforts. I might tell you much about the plans and operations of the Colonization Society, but I will not take up your time now, which will be better spent in listening to Mr. Simpson and Mr. Moore. They will tell you about Liberia. They have been there. The free people of color in Mississippi did wisely about this matter. They heard different stories about the country. They determined to do as the children of Israel did in sending spies to Canaan, to spy out the land and bring back of the fruit of it. They sent two men of their own color, Simpson and Moore, to see the Colony. These men went and examined the land and brought back of the fruit of it. Now you see the result of their inquiries. These men, with their families and a large company of their friends, are on their way to Liberia. They take with them property to the amount of \$15,000. They are intelligent and honest men, and could live very well here. They say it is a good country and much better for them than America.—One word I have to say to you that are slaves. Some say we want to make slaves uneasy and dissatisfied, and excite them to insurrection. Now, the Lord knows we are guiltless of this charge. We are the disciples of the prince of peace. If you want ever to go to Liberia, that land of the free and equal, you must be sober, honest, industrious, and faithful servants. Without such a character you could not have permission from the Society to go, if you were free; and by such conduct you will be most likely to obtain from your masters the privileges of going, if ever you want to go."

When Mr. Finley sat down, Mr. Scott asked the assembly if they wished to hear Mr. Simpson's statements about Liberia. If so, they would express it by saying aye. Aye, aye, aye, aye, resounded from every part of the room.

Mr. Simpson then came forward. "For a long time," said he, "I had desired to find a place of refuge, where I might enjoy liberty and such advantages as I could not here—not that I was treated unkindly in Mississippi. I have many dear friends there. But it is not possible for colored people to enjoy among white men all the privileges and advantages of liberty. I heard a great deal about Liberia, and read a good deal. Good people told me a leap about it, and I wanted to see it. So did some of my friends. One said to another, 'will you go and see it for us.' But all were too busy. They sent to me to know if I would go. I said yes. So did Archy Moore. We started. First we came to New Orleans, but the vessel we expected to go in had sailed. Then we had to go to an eastern port. We started for Washington City. Met with many discouragements. In Fredericktown a lady said to me, 'Where are you going?' To Africa. 'Where?' To Africa. 'What—you such a fool as to go to Africa? Don't you know that the negroes will kill you and eat you there?' [A laugh.] So other persons tried to dishearten and dissuade us from going, till we found Mr. Gurley in Washington. He received us in a friendly manner—encouraged us to go on, and provided for us a passage from Norfolk. Our voyage was much pleasanter than I expected. I found many Christian friends among the emigrants in the ship. We arrived at Monrovia the last day of June. There was a quarterly meeting on the second day of July.—I went ashore. The heavens appeared to open over me. I seemed to be born a second time. Every thing looked kindly. It looked like the home for the colored man. Mr. Moore and I travelled about and examined the country—saw abundance of every thing growing. The people looked as healthy there as they do here—Old Teage, of Virginia, said he had been prejudiced against the Colony—had tried Canada and wanted to go to Hayti; but he blessed God that his lot had been finally cast there in Liberia. He told me not to try to persuade others to come, but to persevere and come myself, then they'll see what you think of it. There'll be enough to come. I have persevered so far, and expect soon to embark for Liberia. I hope to do something for my blessed Master's cause there if he spares my life.—If death be my early lot, I hope to be as ready and willing to meet it on the coast of Africa, as on the shores of the Mississippi. Brethren, pray for us."

After Mr. Simpson sat down, Mr. Scott asked the assembly if they wished to hear Mr. Moore. "Aye, aye, aye," again burst from every mouth.

Mr. Moore came forward. "I don't know as it is necessary for me to say any thing. I will, however, testify to the truth of the statements made by my friend, Mr. Simpson. As to our moving to Liberia, we have no more cause for going than other free people. We go of choice. I go to enjoy liberty and equality of rights. As to the natural productions of the country, they exceed any thing I ever saw in all my travels elsewhere. Besides such fruit as we have here, they have a great

variety, that grows only there. They have fine grapes. I ate delicious English grapes there. The palm tree I had often heard of, and it is mentioned in the Bible. I saw it growing. It is a singular tree. I saw some two or three feet over. They grow very high, without a single branch or limb. Right on the top is a cabbage, or what looks so like a cabbage you couldnt tell the difference a little way off. The leaves they use for covering their houses, from the trunk they get a juice, that makes wine, and an oil, that is used for butter and lard. I ate of it, and found it very good. The fibre they used instead of flax and hemp. [Of this fibre he exhibited a specimen—also a piece of the cam wood, a valuable dye wood, of a beautiful red color.] "This wood," said he, "is worth sixty dollars a ton, is abundant and easily obtained. It is as good as gold and silver to trade with."

"As to the style of living among the Colonists, it was quite superior to what I expected to see. Many houses, where I visited, look like those of respectable white families, and had I not seen the occupants, would have supposed them inhabited by white people. One Sabbath we were invited by Mr. Devany to dine with him. We went home with him. He introduced us into his sitting room. It was well furnished with carpet, chairs, two elegant sofas, two handsome mirrors, &c. In a little while the folding doors, separating the parlor from the dining room, were thrown open, and we were invited to take seats at the table there, richly set and well supplied with every thing good to eat. Now, some may think, because I have lived in the country in Mississippi, I have never seen good style. But I have lived in the first families of the country. I lived many years with Governor Claiborne, of your State. Twenty years ago, I know, the furniture in the best houses in the western country, was not better than what I saw in common use in Liberia. I go willingly. I have got a living here in slavery; and now that I am free, if I can't, with health, get a living there, then let me suffer. There is no winter there. I believe I can live easier and better there than I can here."

Rev. Mr. Butler, from Mississippi, subjoined a few remarks. "I have been acquainted," said he, "with many of these emigrants ever since I have been in the country, and know them to be of good character. Their removal is considered a great loss in many respects. They have been mechanics, overseers, and preachers. Some of them were once averse to emigration. They were living comfortably. But the thought of their children; what was to become of them; has determined them to go and provide for their education and future independence. Their former masters and other friends in Mississippi feel a most tender solicitude for their welfare. Many Christians are praying for them, and will continue to remember them before God. I hope that you, here in New Orleans will pray for them that God will preserve them while tossed on the ocean, and finally plant them and prosper them in Liberia." Before Mr. Butler had reached this point in his remarks, the emigrants had become tenderly affected by his expressions of his affectionate regard and by his allusions to the kind feelings of their friends of Mississippi. First, silent tears stole down their cheeks, drop after drop—then long drawn sighs were followed by loud sobs from some of the females, thus evincing the tenderness of their attachments to their friends, and their gratitude for the bright prospect opened before them in going to the Colony of Liberia. Mr. B., overcome with his own feelings, as well as interrupted by the expressions of theirs, could proceed no further. A parting hymn was then sung, during which the emigrants and their colored friends took leave of each other. A more affecting scene I never witnessed. Mr. Simpson made the concluding prayer, and Mr. Butler pronounced the benediction. No one, who witnessed the transactions of this meeting, could avoid the conviction, that Colonization is doing good here.

O. S. H.

AFRICA.—*Its claims to Missionary labor.*—A late number of the Philadelphian contains an article bearing this title, being "A Dissertation read before the Society of Inquiry respecting missions at Andover Theological Seminary, by James W. Dale of Philadelphia." Much valuable information respecting Africa is embodied in it, and judiciously arranged, but we have not room to transfer it to our columns. Such appeals as this, on behalf of the millions of Africa, must, we think, produce a state of feeling in the Christian public, that will result in causing the light of the

Gospel to illumine the whole of that vast and benighted Continent. The debt we owe to Africa will yet be repaid.—There are now on that field of labor about fifty missionaries of various Protestant denominations,—fourteen on the Western coast. The schoolmaster is now taking his departure from our shores, with a view to go the whole length and breadth of Africa. The God of Zion has prospered and will bless Christian exertions in behalf of Ethiopia—she shall stretch forth her hands, and receiving blessings, will bless the land of her former oppressors.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, in the month of March, 1835.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Judge Burnett, of Ohio,	\$100
Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Massachusetts, the balance of his sub- scription,	400
Fleming James, Richmond, Va.	100

Collections from Churches.

Hillsborough, Ohio, by Rev. J. McD. Matthews,	5
York, Pa. from Lutheran and G. Reformed Churches,	11

Auxiliary Societies.

Mississippi State Colonization Society, by Jefferson Beaumont, Esq.	1993
Virginia Colonization Society, by B. Brand, Esq.	24

Donations.

Adams County, Mississippi, from the estate of the late James Green, by James Railey, his Exr. to pay for the passage to Liberia, of 26 emancipated colored persons,	1000
Bedford, Pa. from B. R. H.	5
King George County, Va. from a Lady, by the Rev. Chas. Mann,	5
New Jersey, from Matthias Bruen, Esq.	100
Port Gibson, Miss. from Rev. Zeb. Butler, for the use of emigrants from Claiborne County,	134
Stafford County, Va. from Mrs. Skinner and others, through Mrs. Black- ford, Fredericksburg,	15
Do through the same Lady,	2
Youngstown, Ohio, by Henry Manning,	6

Life Subscribers.

New-Orleans, W. W. Caldwell,	30
do R. F. Canfield,	30
York, Pa. Mrs. Reily,	20

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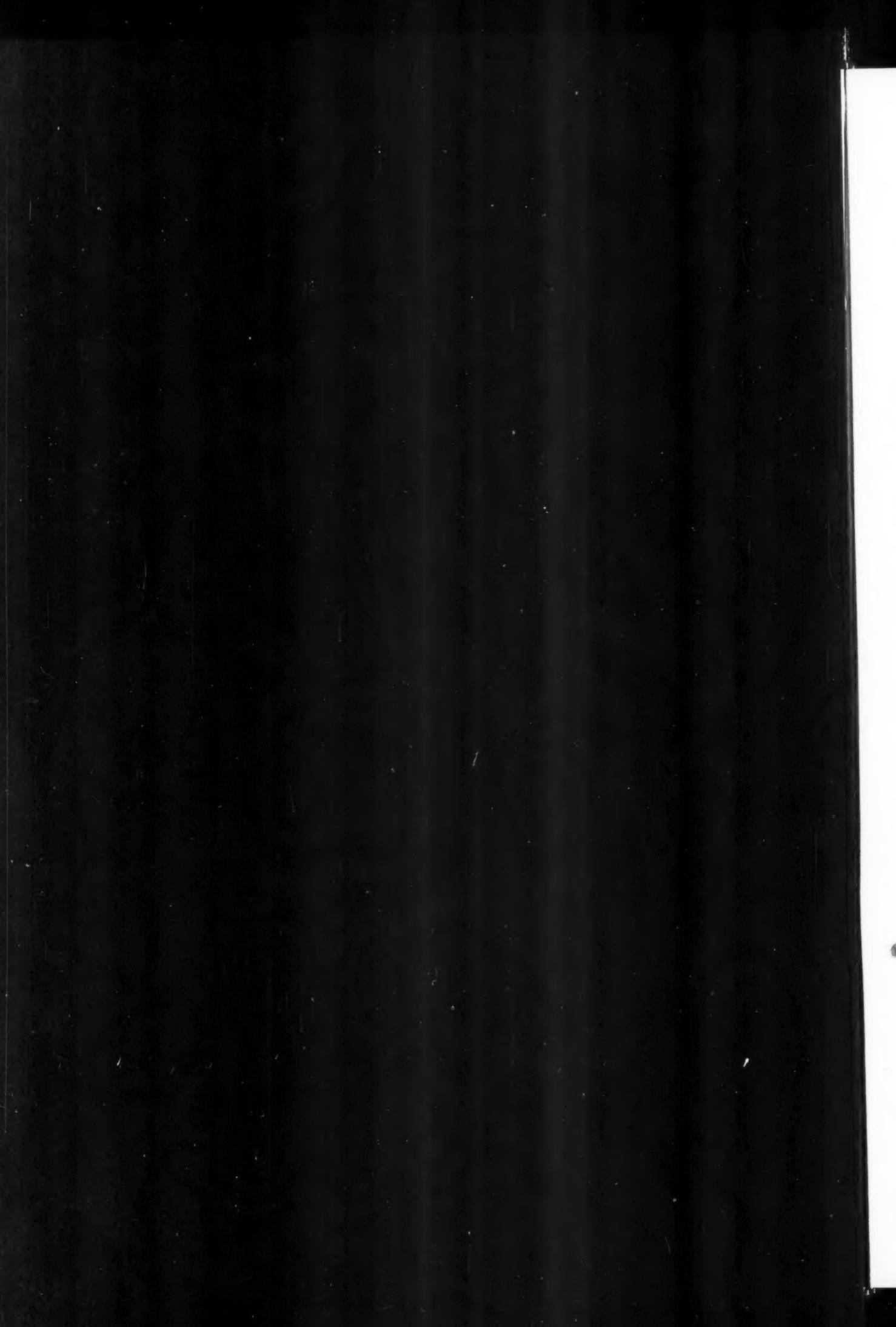
African Repository.

Miss Lucy Paine, Goochland, Va. by B. Brand, Tr.	2
Samuel Rhea, Bluntsville, Tenn.	2
Marvin Leonard, Williamsfield, Ohio,	3
Samuel Steele and R. Ragan, Hagerstown, Md. \$2 each,	4

The following were received through the Rev. C. Pearl, viz:

Levi Cram, Bangor, Maine,	4
Abner Taylor, do	12
Thos. A. Hill, do	8
Geo. W. Pickering, do	7
John Pearson, do	8
Amos Patten, do	12
Rev. A. Garrison, Waterville, N. York,	3





Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

"Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

"Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

"Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

"Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

"Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to **JOSEPH GALES**, Sen'r. Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to **R. R. GURLEY**, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to **JAMES C. DUNN**, Washington, D. C.

Agents for the African Repository.

Alexander R. Plumley, Travelling Agent	Benjamin Brand, <i>Richmond.</i>
James Daniel,	Richard Worthington, <i>Charlestown,</i>
<i>NEW-YORK.</i>	<i>MARYLAND.</i>
Dr. Stevens, Colonial Office, <i>N. Y. City.</i>	Samuel Young, <i>Baltimore,</i>
Ebenezer Watson, <i>Albany,</i>	Dr. Ely Ayres,
Tappan Townsend, <i>Quaker Springs,</i>	<i>NORTH CAROLINA.</i>
<i>PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia.</i>	John C. Ehringhaus, <i>Elizabeth City,</i>
John K. Morris, 146 Chesnut st.	Nathan Winslow, <i>Newby's Bridge,</i>
<i>MAINE.</i>	<i>MISSISSIPPI.</i>
Rev. Asa Cummings, <i>Portland,</i>	Rev. Wm. Winans, <i>Centreville.</i>
J. Holway, <i>West Machias,</i>	<i>INDIANA.</i>
<i>MASSACHUSETTS.</i>	Harvy Scribner, <i>New Albany,</i>
Jonathan Fellows, <i>Boston,</i>	<i>OHIO.</i>
Light & Horton, do.	R. S. Finley, <i>Cincinnati.</i>
Oliver Parsons, <i>Salem,</i>	E. & B. G. Easton, Agents for <i>Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee,</i>
Dorr and Howland, <i>Worcester,</i>	and the western parts of <i>Pennsylvania and Virginia.</i>
Elihu Hobart, <i>Abington,</i>	Dr. Job Haines, <i>Dayton,</i>
<i>CONNECTICUT.</i>	<i>KENTUCKY.</i>
D. F. Robinson and Co. <i>Hartford,</i>	John W. Anderson, <i>Hopkinsville,</i>
<i>NEW JERSEY.</i>	Rev. H. B. Bascom,
John Kenney, Jr. <i>Belvidere,</i>	Rev. O. S. Hinckley,
<i>VIRGINIA.</i>	
Robert Hill, <i>King William county,</i>	

The African Repository

Can now be had, from its commencement, on application to the Publisher, or Mr. John Kennedy, Washington City, either bound or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the Society, in ten years, by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually, during that time. The following have already subscribed.

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York.
Jasper Corning, Charleston, S. Carolina.
Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, New Jersey.
John T. Norton, Albany, New York.
E. F. Backus, New Haven, Connecticut.
A Gentleman in Mississippi.
Matthew Carey, Philadelphia.
Wm. Crane, Richmond, Va.
Fleming James, do.
A Friend in Virginia.
Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Massachusetts.
Mrs. M. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontaine, } \$100 annually by
Wm. A. Carrington, P. S. Carrington, } equal contribution s
Gen. Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington.
A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va
Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.
Elliot Cresson, do.
Robert Gilmore, Baltimore.
George Burwell, Frederick County, Va.
Association of 20 persons in Rev. Dr. Mead's parish, Frederick co, Va
Hon. Edward M'Gehee, Mississippi.
Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, Louisiana.
Four young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.
The Auxiliary Col. Society of Georgetown, D C
A Friend in Fredericktown, Md.
Another Subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, in Bishop Mead's Co-
gregation, Frederick County, Va.
John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.
Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.
Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany, N. Y.
Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.
Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Va.
Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va.
Judge Burnett, of Ohio.
Nicholas Brown, Providence, R. I.
An association of Gentlemen in Kenhawa co. Va
Jacob Towson, of Williamsport, Md.
E. C. Delvan, Albany, N. Y.
Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me.
Hon. Thomas Emerson, Windsor, Vt.
Judge Porter, New Orleans.
Judge Workman, do.
John McDonogh, do.
Auxiliary Colonization Society, of Wilmington, Delaware
Hon. John Ker, of Louisiana.
John Linton, of do.
D. I. Burr, Richmond, Va.
Auxiliary Colonization Society, Hampshire County, Massachusetts.
Thomas Napier, Northampton, Massachusetts.
John S. Walton, of New Orleans.
Auxiliary Colonization Society of Portland, Maine.
Auxiliary Sociey of Essex county, N. Jersey.
Archibald McIntyer, New York.
Presbytery of Mississippi.
Rev. Charles W. Andrews, Frederick county, a.